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This research and demonstration project tested the contributions of comprehensive social, psychological, and vocational rehabilitation services to the reduction of recidivism rates, the enhancement of vocational stability and occupational levels, and the personal adjustment of parolees from the Minnesota State Reformatory for Men. The project centered around an experimental design in which offenders released with parole sentences of 18 months or more were randomly assigned to either a control group that received normal services or an experimental group that received comprehensive services during the first year following release. Services to experimental subjects were adapted to fit the unique configuration of each individual's needs. The chief innovations of the project were its comprehensive interdisciplinary-team nature, the emphasis on vocational adjustment as a primary means to total life adjustment, the sophistication of the vocational evaluation process, the commitment to seeking education and training for high-risk clients, the provision of immediate comprehensive post-release services, the release period, and the use of an experimental design to compare outcomes of treated parolees with those of offenders receiving normal parole supervision. In terms of recidivism at one year, the experimental had a better record than controls. (AUTHOR)

THE REHABILITATION OF PAROLEES

THE APPLICATION OF COMPREHENSIVE PSYCHO-SOCIAL VOCATIONAL
SERVICES IN THE REHABILITATION OF PAROLEES.

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Richard C. Ericson

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Adult Corrections Commission (Minnesota)
DAC	Division of Adult Corrections (Minnesota)
DVR	Division of Vocational Rehabilitation (Minnesota)
DYC	Division of Youth Corrections (Minnesota)
MDC	Minnesota Department of Corrections
MRC	Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center
MSES	Minnesota State Employment Service
MSRM	Minnesota State Reformatory for Men
VRA	Vocational Rehabilitation Administration
YCC	Youth Conservation Commission (Minnesota)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The project reported here covered a period of more than three years from October, 1964, through December, 1967.

Early in 1963 the staff of the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center (MRC), with primary impetus coming from Ben Reuben, then Director of Social Services, began to theorize that the agency's comprehensive services would effectively assist in the adjustment of parolees. Other MRC staff who helped develop the idea included Robert W. Will, Robert A. Walker, and Richard Ugland. A series of discussions about this idea was initiated with the Minnesota Department of Corrections (MDC) and the Minnesota Division of Vocational Rehabilitation (DVR). The hypothesis that comprehensive psycho-social vocational services would positively affect the adjustment of parolees was the result.

These deliberations led to an agreement that the three agencies would participate in a research project designed to test the effectiveness of such services for parolees. An inquiry was directed to the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration (VRA), now known as Rehabilitation Services Administration. After preliminary negotiations and some rethinking of the exact nature of such a project, a formal application was sent to VRA. Historians studying the evolution of rehabilitation services will be interested in the fact that the first application was turned down because, at that time, rehabilitation philosophy did not include offenders per se among the disabled. In fact, Mr. Richard Wimsatt, then Research Director at MRC and principal author of the original application, wrote "We...[have to]...muster support for our position that, indeed, parolees are disabled." Persistence and re-application was fruitful; notification that VRA would grant funds for the project came in the summer of 1964.

The purpose of the project as stated in the grant application was as follows:

"The program...is intended to facilitate the rehabilitation of parolees from the State Reformatory for Men at St. Cloud, Minnesota by providing them some combination (depending upon the individual client needs) of social, psychological and vocational services in a job oriented rehabilitation center; with some clients in subsequent training facilities, in the job seeking process, and in follow-up work. More specifically, the principal hypotheses are that a comprehensive vocational program

designed to help clients prepare for, secure, and maintain appropriate occupations will:

- (1) Reduce recidivism rates;
- (2) Enhance vocational stability and occupational levels;
- (3) Produce changes in attitude and in levels of personal adjustment which are measurable by means of psychometric devices.

Related purposes...are to explore the problems and obstacles these parolees face in becoming successfully integrated into the non-criminal community, and to obtain quantitative and qualitative descriptive data which could contribute to the clearer identification of the factors in which their disability consists (Project Application).

Even without its treatment, the project grant helped to establish the principle that offenders without conventional types of disabilities were legitimate clients of vocational rehabilitation services. This project was a significant part of the evolving nationwide interest of VRA in the provision of rehabilitation services for offenders. No prior VRA demonstration employing an experimental design had ever been attempted for offenders in a private rehabilitation facility. In this project, the experimental and control groups of offenders were randomly selected from the same population and MRC treatment was the experimental variable.

The purpose of this chapter is to delineate the problem to which the project was directed, the setting within which the project took place, staff and matters pertaining to project administration, and the project design and certain aspects of methodology.

THE PROBLEM

"September 13th is a very special day for me. No, it's not my birthday nor is it my anniversary. It's the day I received my parole from the Minnesota State Reformatory in St. Cloud. It signaled the end of four long miserable years of incarceration. It gave the word "tomorrow" new meaning for me.

If the truth must be known, I had mixed emotions about my impending freedom. Naturally, I wanted to be free, but at the same time there was an underlying current of fear as though I would be leaving behind all the security I had known for so many years. No longer would there be someone around to do my thinking for me. No longer would I wake up and go to bed at the sound of a clanging bell. Like an animal that has escaped from the zoo, I was now faced with a startling revelation that I must either forage my food or starve. Too, there was the thought of failure. Once I had received my parole, all I could think of was, "What if I don't make it? Can I really hack it on the streets? What have I got going for me?"

A very real fear possessed me as I contemplated my future in society. The words of one of the paroling board members returned again and again to my thoughts: 'Granting you parole we are going against the advice of every professional staff member in this institution.'

I could not afford to fail."

These words were dictated to us by one of the experimental subjects. He wished to succeed. But what are the facts for such men, most of whom verbalize a wish not to fail?

According to 1965 statistics in The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, (President's Commission, 1967),* the following figures are relevant and tell the story:

- (1) The number of individual crimes on official records has increased over the years at a faster rate than America's population.
- (2) Burglars are the most numerous class of serious offenders in the correctional system.
- (3) Males between the ages of 15 and 24 are the most crime-prone group in America.

These generalizations also apply to the State of Minnesota.

The majority of offenders in this research project have a history of burglary as their offense. Their mean age is 23. All were from the State Reformatory for Men (MSRM) at St. Cloud, Minnesota. Sixty-two percent of the men released from MSRM eventually became involved, after release, in a serious illegal act, ranging from homicide to major traffic offenses, and 40% of all men released do not succeed on parole (Mandel, et al., 1963).

These facts are neither pleasant nor hopeful for the man who feels he "cannot afford to fail".

The project application indicated that a review of records from MSRM reinforced the assumption that the offender is vocationally disabled. It was determined that about 15% of the MSRM population possessed physical disabilities. Another 15% suffered impairments of intellect. Approximately 70% were seen as emotionally or socially impaired.

These findings were consistent with those of studies elsewhere. A year's experience in Oklahoma revealed that all reformatory inmates there were eligible for State Rehabilitation Division services by virtue of

*For details on references cited in the text see the References between Chapter Four and the Appendices.

personality disorder, mental deficiency, and/or physical disability (Oklahoma VRD). (This was prior to recent amendments which include the socially deviant as eligible for vocational rehabilitation services.)

The project began with the idea that occupational adjustment is a crucial factor in the success or lack of success of parolees. (Quite obviously this was only a hunch, albeit one accepted by most practitioners; there was a paucity of experimental research concerning the vocational rehabilitation of offenders and the role of employment in their adjustment process.) Certain facts lend credence to this position. For example, in one study (Mandel, et al., 1963) more than 80% of parolees were school dropouts; few had a stable work history on any job. Fewer still had vocational skills which offer hope of obtaining jobs with prospects for normal advancement and attractive remuneration.

The major fact leading to this project was that the correctional program at that time in Minnesota was apparently not intervening sufficiently in certain basic vocational problems faced by parolees. These centered around deficient career plans and a distinct lack of salable skills. It was hypothesized that the services of MRC would enhance adjustment by providing opportunities for adequate career planning and for the acquisition of salable skills. This could also serve as a pilot project demonstrating to other agencies the values of vocational rehabilitation services for offenders.

Vocational Services for Offenders in Minnesota

While some services have been provided for disabled offenders by the Minnesota DVR prior to this project, there never was any systematic attempt to determine the effectiveness of vocationally oriented services applied to a significant number of parolees under controlled conditions.

Furthermore, at the time the project originated there was very little coordination of activities between the various state agencies involved with offenders. As indicated above, DVR served the parolee population only sporadically. The Minnesota State Employment Security agency (MSES) had also served some persons who had criminal records, but they were not referred primarily through the correctional system. For all practical purposes, the criminal justice system (law enforcement, courts, and corrections) did not possess adequate vocationally oriented rehabilitation services for its clientele, nor did it possess a means to refer its clientele systematically to vocational rehabilitation agencies, public or private.

The unique contribution MRC made through this project was to apply comprehensive multidisciplinary services to parolees at a time when interest in the offender on the part of vocational rehabilitation

services was only beginning to emerge. The project promoted the coordination of relevant activities in two state agencies (DVR and MDC), a private agency (MRC), and a federal agency (VRA).

THE SETTING

During the project's exploratory phase (Appendix A), the tentative working agreements between MRC, DVR, and MDC were finalized. A general pattern of working relationships between the agencies was developed as well as special agreements with both DVR and MDC. (See Appendix B.) Each agency directly involved in the project will be briefly described in this section.

Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center

MRC is a private, non-profit agency which opened in 1960 in response to a survey indicating the need for a rehabilitation center concerned primarily with vocational, psychological, and social matters rather than medical treatment alone. A primary function of MRC is to work with the hard-core unemployed whose unemployment typically was caused by personal, family, and emotional problems preventing or retarding their entry into the competitive world of work. Its program focuses on vocational rehabilitation of people as its prime goal, but it recognizes that a degree of social rehabilitation often is a prerequisite to vocational rehabilitation. It aims to restore or prepare disabled clients for competitive employment, so it concentrates on problems which prevent or retard employment, especially disabilities of a personal, social, or emotional nature.

Historically, rehabilitation philosophy has suggested that, if a person achieved an optimum level of physical restoration but was still unemployable, he must expect to spend the rest of his days in sheltered workshops or at home. Little attention was given to the possibility that personal, family and emotional problems could be as disabling as physical disabilities. MRC applied the principle that disabling, non-physical conditions often prevent or retard an individual's efforts to achieve competitive employment.

At the time this project began, MRC was only four years old. For the first time it became imperative to define explicitly who was being treated and in what ways. For one thing, this was the agency's first experimentally designed project and, secondly, parolees of the kind in this project represented a new client population for MRC services. It was true that the agency had worked occasionally with clients who had a history of illegal activities. For example, some of the clients in the "Hard-core Unemployed" program had criminal or juvenile records (Walker, 1967). However, they were considerably older than the subjects in this project, their illegal activities were in most instances minor, chiefly juvenile offenses many years in the past, and they were referred to MRC through normal channels for reasons other than criminality.



The Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center

In contrast, this project was to be concerned with only youthful (average age 23), often unretractable felons whose criminality occurred relatively recently. They were to report for treatment on the day following release from MSRM. Upon arrival they were, for the most part, characterized by anti-social attitudes. It was obvious that the project's clients were a new and different challenge to MRC, and in many ways it was presumptuous to assume that the agency could be effective with a population well known to be difficult to treat.

The total program at MRC at the time of this report is different in many respects from that which existed during this project. It is now more diversified and more capable of responding to differential needs of clients. It also is differently structured. New program and development units have been added. Certain experimental innovations currently in process also hold promise of increasingly effective patterns of treatment.

The Division of Vocational Rehabilitation

Minnesota's vocational rehabilitation program is developed and administered by DVR, a major unit of the State Department of Education. Its head is an Assistant Commissioner for Rehabilitation and Special Education. He formulates and directs program operation with the advice and concurrence of the Commissioner of Education. His supporting staff includes an Assistant Director for Rehabilitation and Special Education and other specialists in vocational rehabilitation programming and operation. Vocational rehabilitation services are administered through twelve District and Branch DVR Offices located regionally in major communities throughout the State.

Client services are provided clients through vocational counselor staff members assigned to the various DVR offices on the basis of case-load demands. As of June 1966, near the mid-point of this project, DVR employed 93 persons. Of these, 9 were in program direction and administration, 48 in counseling or related services, and 36 in clerical work. In addition, DVR employed the part-time services of 11 medical and psychiatric consultants.

The stated purpose of DVR is to help handicapped citizens receive medical and vocational training assistance that will enable them to compete in the general labor market, to locate and secure gainful employment for these people, and then to help them relocate their residence if necessary. Rehabilitation services are open to all disabled Minnesotans of working age who want to be gainfully employed and who can be reasonably expected, with vocational rehabilitation help, to work productively in a given job situation. The basic services of DVR are (1) guidance and counseling, (2) medical evaluation and treatment, (3) job training, and (4) job placement.

Minnesota Department of Corrections

In 1959, the Minnesota legislature created the MDC, bringing under one authority the Adult Correctional Institutions, the Youth Conservation Commission, and the State Board of Probation and Parole. The effect was to eliminate overlapping, provide central direction to previously disjointed phases of corrections, and broaden the scope of experience for career professionals.

The Department is headed by a Commissioner of Corrections appointed by the Governor for a six year term. The Commissioner appoints the heads of state correctional institutions and the Deputies who administer the two major divisions of MDC--the Division of Adult Corrections (DAC) and the Division of Youth Conservation (DYC). All other employees, including the Parole Agents who played such an important role in this project, are chosen through civil service procedures.

The task of MDC is to serve society by operating programs of corrective services. The Department has the responsibility of protecting the public and operates from the point of view that the best protection is afforded by restoring the offender to a useful status in society. In implementing these goals MDC states that its operation is in the three broad areas of prevention, custody, and treatment. It operates the following institutions:

- Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater
- Minnesota State Reformatory for Men (MSRM) at St. Cloud (from which this project's subjects were selected).
- Minnesota Correctional Institution for Women at Shakopee
- The Minnesota Home School at Sauk Centre
- The State Training School at Red Wing
- The Youth Vocational Center at Rochester
- The Minnesota Residential Treatment Center, Reception and Diagnostic Center at Lino Lakes
- The St. Croix Forestry Camp at Sandstone
- The Willow River Forestry Camp at Willow River
- The Thistledew Forestry Camp at Togo

MSRM was opened in 1889 to care for first offenders between the ages of 16 and 30 years. It was one of the first institutions in the reformatory movement in the United States. Presently it receives youthful offenders and young adults between the ages of 16 and 25, some of whom grow beyond the latter age while confined. All have committed felonies and were sent to the reformatory by action of a Minnesota District Court. Just over half are under the releasing authority of the Youth Conservation Commission (YCC); the others are under the Adult Corrections Commission (ACC).

The institution consists of a 55 acre plot of land enclosed by a stone wall 22 feet high at the top of which are nine guard towers. There also are two guard towers in the main yard. The enclosure includes a granite quarry, large recreational areas, an administrative building, five cell blocks, a school, a vocational building, a kitchen, a dining room, and a new fieldhouse-auditorium. All buildings are connected.

The Superintendent of MSRM is responsible for administering its total program and its appendages in accordance with policies established by the Commissioner of Corrections. He is directly responsible to the DAC Deputy Commissioner and holds consultations as required with the DYC Deputy Commissioner.

The average age of MSRM inmates is $22\frac{1}{2}$ years. In recent years the population has been reduced to an average of slightly over 800 inmates as the result of a more liberal use of probation by the courts, acceleration of releasing activity by both the ACC and YCC, transfer of a sizable number of older men to the State Prison, a reduction in parole violator returns to the reformatory, and removal of the Annex for the Mentally Retarded. About 72% of the inmates have committed offenses against property, 18% offenses against persons, and 10% offenses against chastity or decency and drug violations.



The Minnesota State Reformatory for Men

Other Community Resources

The project staff had access to all community resources normally available to vocational rehabilitation programs. Training and educational facilities were utilized through individualized arrangements as needed for each case. The Union Gospel Mission in St. Paul and the House of Charity and Goodwill Industries in Minneapolis provided emergency clothing for a few experimental subjects. Chaplains Henry Taxis and Leo Vetvich of the Hennepin County Municipal Court assisted three experimental subjects with alcoholic problems.

Special arrangements were made with the Hennepin County Department of Public Welfare, the Ramsey County Department of Public Welfare, and the Minneapolis Relief Department for emergency subsistence and clothing allowances for men unable to utilize other resources. As the project progressed, DVR subsistence allowances became adequate to meet these needs, so welfare agencies were not utilized to any great extent.

PROJECT ADMINISTRATION

The Principal Investigator was responsible for both the treatment and research aspects of the project under the direction of MRC's administrative staff. This dual role had the potential for subjective conclusions in spite of every attempt to remain committed to the principles of scientific inquiry. In order to insure maximum objectivity in the conclusions about treatment effectiveness an independent Project Research Analyst, who had no emotional commitment to outcomes of research which tested the principal hypotheses and no vested interest in the treatment or the participating agencies, was hired in May, 1967.

The original full-time treatment team consisted of a Social Worker, Vocational Counselor, and Work Evaluator. A Clinical Psychologist was assigned part-time. Within eleven months after treatment began all members of the original team except the Clinical Psychologist had left MRC for other employment. They were replaced with new members who remained with the project to its completion.

The research team included the Project Research Analyst and a Research Assistant, Research Technician, Research Interviewer, and, during data analysis, computer programmers and key punch operators. All were employed for only a part of the project's duration and, except for the Research Assistant, on only a part-time basis.

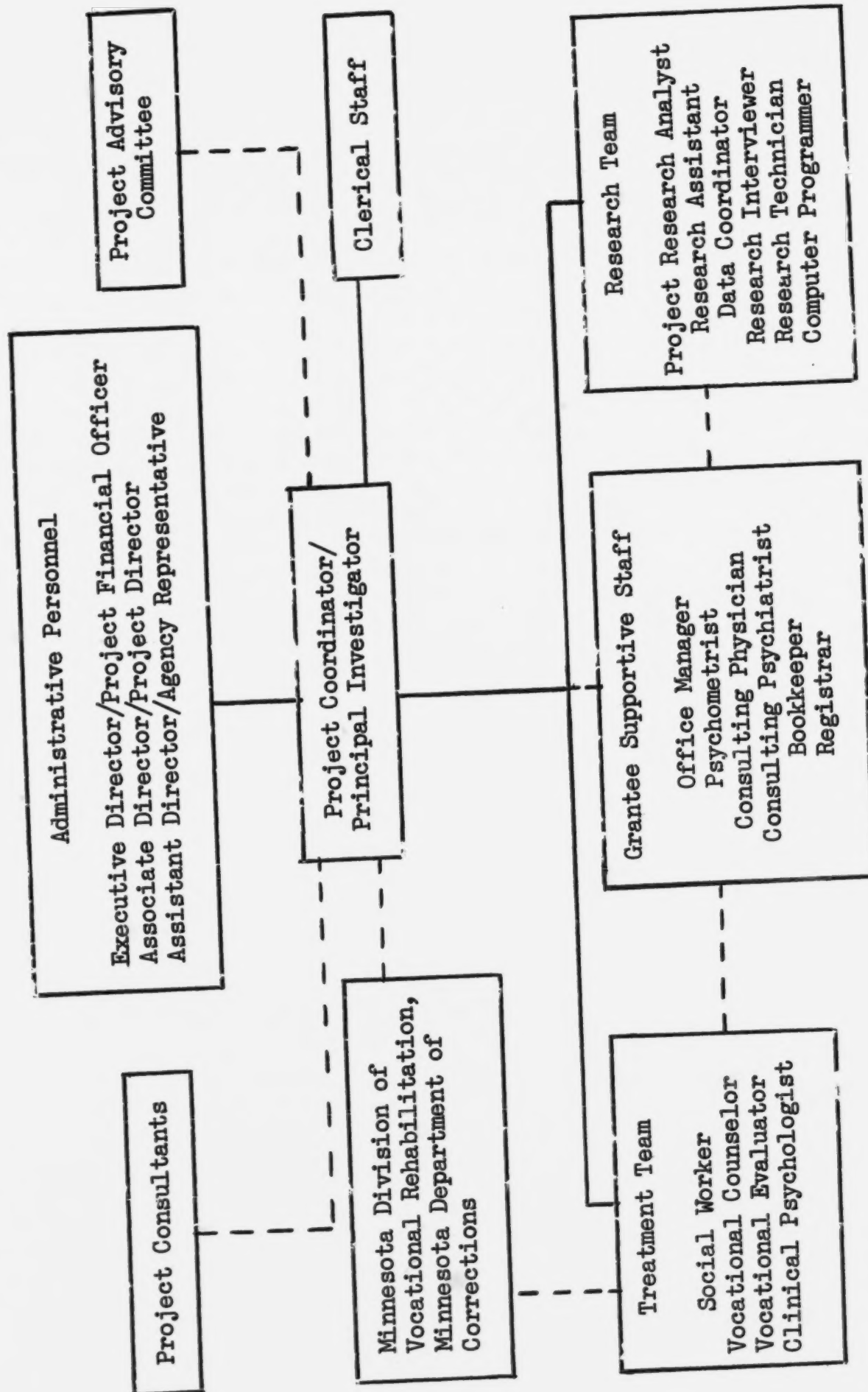
Other part-time supportive personnel were a consulting psychiatrist, a consulting physician, and the MRC supervisory and secretarial staff.

Seven consultants were used during various phases of the project. In addition, three consultants rated the subjects' employment success, three others rated the subjects' personality changes, and five more validated the employment success ratings. Thirty-one persons served on the Project Advisory Committee at one time or another.

Excluding the advisory group, a total of 50 different persons were directly involved in this project. Of these, 35 received salaries or wages from the project budget. With the exception of treatment personnel, the majority were assigned part-time. Some contributed to both treatment and research, some to one or the other, and some assisted in supportive and consultative roles. (See Figure 1-1 for the organization of project personnel.) Many other individuals in DVR and MDC supported the project by activities directly related to both treatment and research. Six college undergraduates met term paper assignments using project data, and four experimental subjects provided the project with special case study materials or clerical help.

FIGURE 1-1

MINNEAPOLIS REHABILITATION CENTER
PROJECT PERSONNEL FOR RD-1551



General Project Timetable

The project began on October 1, 1964. The exploratory phase included two months of orientation to team members, improvement of design, and mock runs of the selection process. During the pilot phase (the next four months) the first parolees were selected and received, their one-year treatment began, elements of the design were evaluated, and relationships with participating agencies were solidified.

The selection of subjects continued through June, 1966; treatment continued through June 1967. The research follow-up and terminal collection began in January, 1966, and ended in August, 1967. (See Appendix A.)

Project Expenditures

The costs of staff time for the planning of the project were borne mainly by MRC, but DVR and MDC personnel also contributed a significant amount of time. No accurate accounting was kept of the value of this time, but a conservative estimate is that fifteen professionals were involved from the three participating agencies for an average of at least 25 hours each, a total of 375 hours. If a conservative figure of \$5.00 is assigned to each hour, the cost of planning this project prior to the grant was \$1,875. This does not include the costs of supplies, travel to meetings, and indirect costs.

Following the planning stage, project costs for the three-year grant period, excluding DVR expenditures, totaled approximately \$198,291* of which 86% (\$170,530) was granted from VRA and 14% (\$27,761) from MRC. the grantee.

Table 1-1 indicates the monies spent each year for the three main project functions. The breakdown is arbitrary and based more on an administrative judgment than on a strict accounting of the distribution of staff time. The latter was especially impossible in the case of treatment personnel who assumed many research responsibilities that would not be undertaken under non-experimental circumstances. To incorporate the unusual costs of demonstration and research into the costs of treatment would mislead readers into assuming that similar treatment would cost considerably more to replicate than, in reality, would be the case. For these reasons certain staff activities, supplies and other costs which would not be necessary under non-demonstration, non-research circumstances were arbitrarily separated out, assigned a dollar value, and identified as costs of demonstration or research. The approximate treatment costs of \$94,145 indicate approximately what might be necessary to duplicate the one-year treatment without the

*This figure and all subsequent figures are approximate, pending the final fiscal unit.

research component and without the unusual costs involved in maintaining out-of-the-ordinary contacts and attending meetings for demonstration purposes. Even this figure is considered high, for guidelines established through this project will save many treatment dollars in replicative programs built on its experiences.

TABLE 1-1

PROJECT EXPENDITURES BY ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION
FOR RESEARCH, TREATMENT, AND DEMONSTRATION
BY GRANT PERIODS

	10-1-64 to 9-30-65	10-1-65 to 9-30-66	10-1-66 to 12-31-67	Totals
Research	\$15,640 (20%)	\$17,941 (27%)	\$34,808 (64%)	\$68,389 (35%)
Treatment	42,540 (55%)	37,624 (57%)	13,981 (26%)	94,145 (47%)
Demonstration	19,583 (25%)	10,656 (16%)	5,518 (10%)	37,757 (18%)
Totals	\$77,763 (100%)	\$66,221 (100%)	\$54,307 (100%)	\$198,291 (100%)

The \$198,291 includes all project costs at MRC but does not include costs incurred by DVR. It made significant contributions to the subsistence and training expenses of experimental subjects. (See Chapters Two and Three.) In addition, MDC contributed a great deal of staff time which is not accounted for in the above totals. A relatively small amount also was contributed by other community resources in the form of clothing issues and monetary allowances. Several additional indirect costs assumed by MRC were neither accounted for nor budgetable under government fiscal policies.

In summary, a total of approximately \$198,291 VRA and MRC funds was expended in this three-year project; 47% was assigned to treatment, 35% to research, and 18% to costs of demonstration not assumed in normal treatment programs unencumbered with extra activities associated with experimentation, research, and demonstration.

PROJECT DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research into the causes of human behavior long ago learned the futility of particularism. Treatment, on the other hand, often tends to focus on one aspect of a client's life situation or on one aspect of his personality. Vocationally oriented treatment programs for offenders often operate on the assumption that finding employment for ex-convicts will inhibit recidivism. This project was founded on the idea that this is only partly true, for employment is only one aspect of the parolee's functioning. His attitudes toward responsibility in other areas such as personal finance, his relationship to his family and peers, his problems with living arrangements, his feelings about himself, and so on were seen as equally important. Treatment effort then, was directed toward the parolee's total life situation with its multiplicity of conditions. Chapter Two includes clarification of the project's philosophical orientation and treatment goals, as well as of its clients and the services provided for them.

The basic design of the project was very simple. One group of parolees from MSRM (experimentals) was to receive MRC's psycho-social vocational, and other services besides normal parole supervision for one year following release. Another group (controls) would have only parole supervision. Follow-up research would test the effectiveness of MRC's services.

The Selection of Project Subjects

During the planning of the project, many persons questioned the wisdom of randomization as opposed to matching as a method of determining who should become experimentals and controls.

The number of individuals at each selection was deemed too small even to begin a matching process, and project staff did not know which of numerous factors were the most important to match. Fisher's conclusions in support of random selection are very pertinent:

...no matter how great a caution we may exercise in the equation of conditions between two situations, this equalization is always more or less incomplete and defective ...

...Since each particular effect, whether positive or negative, has an equal and independent chance of occurring (in randomization), the results will be symmetrical in the sense that to each possible negative effect there will be a corresponding positive effect.

...By carrying out randomization...the experimenter will be relieved of the burden of having to consider the magnitude of the innumerable uncontrollable factors disturbing to the experiment. (R.A. Fisher in Greenwood, 1945, pp. 87-89.)

The project design therefore called for random assignment of the eligible parolees (men with 18 or more months on parole whose destination was the Twin Cities) into either the experimental or control group. A table of random numbers was used for that purpose.

MSRM Release Procedures: There are two classes of inmates at MSRM. One consists of offenders who were between the ages of 18 and 21 at the time of their offense and were sentenced to the custody of the YCC. (Occasionally younger men between the ages of 16 and 18 also are transferred to the jurisdiction of the criminal court and find their way to MSRM.) The other inmates are under the ACC. These latter men committed their offenses between ages 21 and 25 and are sentenced directly to MSRM by the State's criminal courts.

Different release provisions apply to the two classes. In the case of YCC wards, release ordinarily follows immediately upon the granting of parole whether the parolee has secured employment or not. The ACC requires that men under its jurisdiction acquire employment prior to release. As a result, ACC men remain in the institution an average of about one month following the granting of parole, but some are held for much longer periods of time before being released. On the basis of projections regarding the approximate number of releasees each month it was determined that the intake rate into the experimental group would average approximately six persons for each of 16 months, assuming three parole hearings per month, two for YCC wards and one for ACC wards. It was expected correspondingly that there would be three project selections each month, one after each of the hearings; over 16 months there would be 48 selections resulting in 192 project subjects of which about one-half would be experimentals.

The number of hearings, the number of men paroled, and the number of parolees meeting the dual criteria of Twin Cities destination and 18 or more months on parole varied from month to month. As a result, the number of groups from which selections could be made ranged from one to six per month and the number of men entering the experimental group each month ranged from one to nine. Because the first selection took place following the third parole hearing in December, 1964, rather than the first hearing, a seventeenth month was added. This allowed 46 selections or two short of the projected number.

The average number of randomly-selected experimental subjects entering the program in each of the 17 months was 4.82 for a total of 82. Controls selected over the 17 months were released from MSRM over a 19 month period at an average of 4.32 per month. The delayed release of some controls resulted from the ACC requirement that men under their jurisdiction have employment at release. Experimentals were considered to have met the employment requirement by virtue of their assignment to the project. (See Appendix C for the monthly breakdown of men entering subject groups.) Table 1-2 shows the number and proportion from each commission assigned to the experimental and control groups.

TABLE 1-2

EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUP SUBJECTS BY COMMISSION

	<u>Experimentals</u>	<u>Controls</u>
ACC	34 (41.5%)	36 (44%)
YCC	48 (58.5%)	46 (56%)
Totals	82 (100%)	82 (100%)

Assignment to Experimental and Control Groups: The selection process involved a number of steps as indicated below. For the YCC it was as follows:

- (1) Following each commission hearing at which paroles were granted, the Director of Social Services at MSRM personally checked each case on the three criteria of the project, namely, parole (whether or not it was granted), length of time on parole (18 months or over), and destination (Twin City area).
- (2) The MSRM Director of Social Services then made a written note of those men who had been selected into the subject group and turned it over to his clerk.
- (3) The clerk made the "eligible group list" which was then prepared in a number of copies for issuance to appropriate parties, including the MRC Project Clinical Psychologist.
- (4) The random selection of experimentals and controls was made at MRC by the Project Clinical Psychologist through use of a table of random numbers.
- (5) This selection was relayed by telephone to the Director of Social Services at MSRM.
- (6) Experimentals were then notified of their selection in person by appropriate personnel at the institution and by letter from MRC.

For the ACC the selection process was similar with only three differences:

- (1) On the first or second day after the ACC hearing the Resident Parole Agent at MSRM had personally interviewed all parolees to obtain their parole plans.

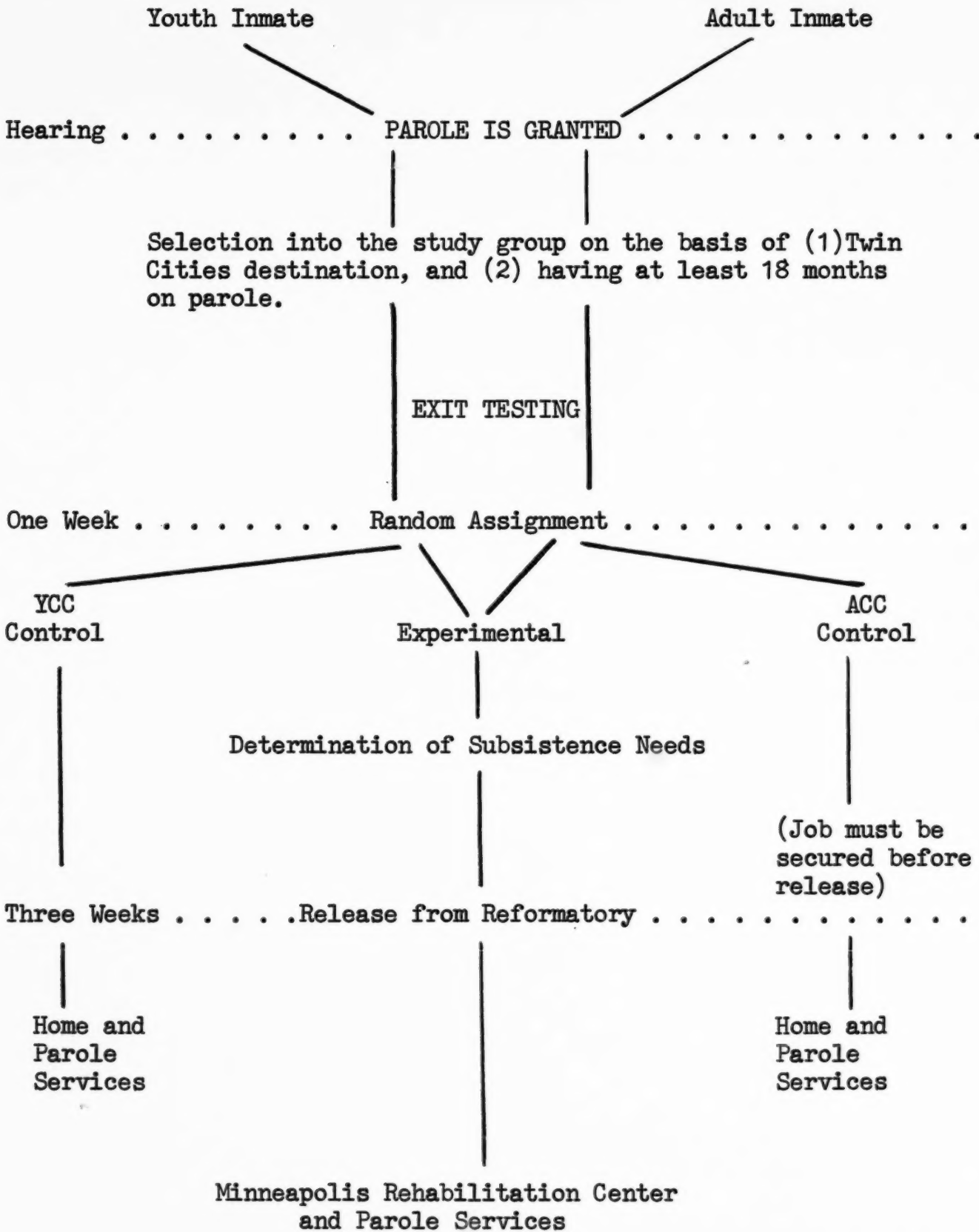
- (2) He then screened all of these men on the basis of the three project criteria listed under YCC (1) above and informed the Director of Social Services as to which were eligible for the subject list.
- (3) The Director of Social Services relayed this information to the clerk for addition to the eligible group list which was in preparation.

The MSRM Director of Social Services states that a few men may have indicated the Twin Cities as their destination in the hope of being selected for the project but that very few, if any, indicated a destination other than the Twin Cities in order to avoid the project. It is possible that one or two eligible men may have missed the subject group due to detainers (wanted in other jurisdictions). Because these detainers were not cleared in advance of the project selection process, the men were not put on the eligibility list. Since the random selection was made in the MRC office after the project list of eligibles was completed, the possible biases should have been equalized among both experimental and control groups.

As Figure 1-2 indicates, selection of parolees for the experimental group came only after the decision to grant parole and thus in no way affected this decision. Furthermore, all pre-release testing (Exit Testing) occurred prior to random assignment so no prospective releasee knew whether or not he was in the experimental or control group at the time of his response to these instruments and schedules. Exit testing included an MMPI, if none had been taken within the previous three months, a Porteus Maze Test, a Semantic Differential, and a project Pre-Release Questionnaire. (The three psychological tests were repeated twelve months following each man's release together with a terminal interview that paralleled and supplemented the questionnaire.) Test results had no bearing on the assignment of parolees to either group.

FIGURE 1-2

PRE-PROGRAM ASSIGNMENT AND PROCESSING CHART



The Release of Project Subjects

No other topic raised as many questions as the release of subjects from MSRM to the project. For this reason the process and problems will be reported here in detail.

Several methodological and practical issues arose during the process of deciding on the release procedure. While the struggle with this particular issue was at times frustrating, project staff were determined that the process should conform to principles of sound research and at the same time be cognizant of various realities in MSRM, the releasing commissions, and MRC. A number of alternative procedures were considered with the primary issues centering around a few extremely important elements.

The first issue was the day of the week for release to the project. Initially there was an attempt to establish a regular day each week for entrance into the program. It was felt that all men should be released on Thursday in the hope that their interest in the program would be established prior to their first free weekend. The project staff originally felt that such structuring of MRC's program also would facilitate treatment team activities. This plan proved impossible, mainly because of the differences between the ACC and YCC parole hearing dates.

The release procedure which was finally implemented released the experimental subjects and controls three weeks following the granting of their parole regardless of the day. (See Appendix D for the chronological ordering of events during the release process.) An important advantage of this approach was that intake into the program was spread throughout each week. A disadvantage was that the system of notifying clients became somewhat more complex.

To release with or without jobs was a second controversial issue. This was a problem among the ACC men rather than those under the YCC because the ACC normally does not release men under its jurisdiction until they have acquired employment. A number of alternative approaches for ACC men were considered.

- (1) Releasing all subjects in the experimental and control groups, whether with or without jobs. It was initially thought that this would provide comparability between groups. The problem with this alternative is that perhaps many of the ACC men did need the support of employment; to create a situation wherein the controls are released without such support could contribute to their failure. This would have worked against the controls and would thus bias the project's outcomes in support of its hypothesis.
- (2) Delaying the release of all ACC men in both the experimental and control groups until they had secured employment. It was felt that this alternative would tend to cause the release

authorization by the institutional Parole Agent to be somewhat meaningless because he would be likely to question the advisability of waiting until appropriate employment had been arranged for the ACC experimentals. It is therefore possible that for some ACC experimentals any employment ("out-job") would be secured just to get the man out of the institution in order to take advantage of project services. While this did not appear to be a serious methodological problem, it was a practical problem, for it would have instituted a radical change in existing institutional procedures. Such change might have affected results significantly.

- (3) The solution agreed upon was that all experimental men, ACC and YCC, whether or not they had employment arranged prior to their scheduled departure from MSRM would be released three weeks following the granting of parole in accord with the project design. ACC controls without jobs, however, remained in the reformatory in line with normal release procedure until they had found employment. This meant that the men in the ACC control group had to secure work before their release and on the average remained in the MSRM following the granting of parole longer than other project subjects. As a result, experimentals and controls are compared on some measures by release date rather than by hearing date.

The third issue in the release process was the timing of the notice of selection. The question here was related to whether and to what extent the project treatment team should become involved with parolees prior to their actual release from MSRM. There was a three week delay between the granting of parole and actual release. (See Figure 1-2.) Some argued strongly that the team should have nothing to do with the experimental group until they arrived at MRC and that inmates who have been selected into the experimental group should not be informed of their selection until the day prior to their release. It was believed that this would minimize the contamination of the control group, the idea being that the more people knowledgeable about assignments, the more the possibility of distortion relative to the project. Reflection on this resulted in just the opposite conclusion, i.e., the more correct information given by the project team to experimentals prior to their release, the less the chance of distortion among experimentals and other inmates who would be involved subsequently.

In addition, withholding the date of notification to the day prior to release had other foreseeable disadvantages:

- (1) It would have exposed the men to deception; they would learn that MSRM staff knew who was in which group but were withholding this information.

- (2) It would have reinforced negative attitudes toward authority figures who are often viewed by inmates as manipulators acting without regard for the interests of the offender.
- (3) Not knowing whether or not one was in the experimental or control group would have increased the uncertainty in the minds of parolees during their high-anxiety pre-release period.
- (4) It would have tended to disorganize the usual planning process of the parolee and MDC personnel. Both begin planning for housing and other needs prior to the release date. Whether or not a man was assigned to the experimental group affected this planning.
- (5) It would have created difficult problems of interpretation during the parolee's pre-release orientation. Institution staff would have been faced with orienting both experimentals and controls, well knowing that one-half would be in the control group and have needs quite different from the experimentals, who would be getting release assistance from project staff.

It was finally concluded that notification of selection would occur within seven days after parole is granted. (See Appendix D.) This decision had the approval of all personnel concerned with the project, including the chairman of each commission and both field (parole) and institutional staff.

The fourth issue in the release process was related to the extent to which MRC staff should begin treatment with the experimental group during the pre-release period. With the decision to notify each experimental inmate of his selection, treatment could begin approximately two weeks prior to his release from MSRM and entrance into the MRC program. It was decided that the project Social Worker would visit each experimental subject during the pre-release orientation. This initiated his relationship with the treatment team and allowed the project Social Worker to work closely with the inmate and Parole Agent relative to housing and other aspects of the subject's release plan. This approach was also consistent with the point of view of VRA as expressed in correspondence dated June 12, 1964, suggesting that the "...experimental group subjects should be contacted while still in the reformatory".

The above decisions were all tested during the Pilot Phase and found to be both workable and consistent with the project design. No changes were made in the release procedures with which the project began.

The Special Condition of Parole

All subjects who were assigned to the experimental group were asked to sign the Special Condition and the Rules and Regulations of the Vocational Services Project. (See Appendix P.) These required cooperation with the project. Whether a man who had been granted parole but did not wish to sign the Special Condition would have been released without doing so was never fully tested. Men who balked were told that they would not be released unless they signed the Special Condition. Everyone selected into the experimental group did sign.

At least two problems are related to this approach. The first is the question of whether or not and to what extent the men would have cooperated in this project without coercion. This will never be known.

The second issue lies in the area of the differential interpretations of the requirements of the Special Condition on the part of the Parole Agents. In the last analysis, it was their judgment that determined whether or not a given parolee was in fact cooperating.

Another issue, dealt with early in the project and often discussed later, is the extent to which the parolee has a right to self-determination at the conclusion of his incarceration. His parole was granted prior to the project selection process, and his willingness to cooperate in the experiment was in no way a factor in the parole decision. Could this additional obligation be considered an "extra sentence?" It could be argued that it does just that. Cooperation in a project like this one is in some ways the equivalent of adding time to the original sentence. In addition, questions could be raised as to whether or not such an arbitrary condition violates the civil and human rights of offenders, but these are beyond the scope of this report.

Whatever the case, the project staff, through consultation and its own problem-solving activities, determined that without this Special Condition the selection process would hinge on willingness to cooperate and thus the parolees served would not be a representative sample of the offender population. The results would then be a function of a biased selection process.

Did the Special Condition actually assist in getting the experimental parolees to participate more significantly in the project? The answer to this question is impressionistic at best. Staff observation and discussions with parolees suggest that many men cooperated immediately following their release because they felt that it was necessary to do so. In some instances the project staff were given an opportunity to reach men with services before they had an opportunity to resist overtly. Some men would never

have presented themselves for any treatment without the Condition, and others, it is felt, continued receiving project treatment as a result of this foot-in-the-door factor. The Condition, however, had very little to do with sustaining a man's involvement within the limits set by experiencing how far he could be uncooperative before project staff and his Parole Agent began proceedings for revocation. In summary, the Special Condition was felt to have been helpful in getting some men who would have been totally resistant into the program but as only moderately helpful thereafter.

Terminal Research Activities

Background characteristics of subjects were collected for treatment and research purposes from the pre-sentence investigations, Reception and Diagnostic Center evaluations, classification summaries, progress reports, commission reviews, pre-parole reports, infirmary records, and psychological reports from MDC and MSRM files and MDC Research Division data cards. All participants completed a pre-release questionnaire for the project, and most completed the pre-treatment battery of tests including the MMPI, Semantic Differential and Porteus Maze Test. Additional data were collected for research purposes after the year of treatment. Chapter Three describes some of the instruments, schedules, and techniques which were used in the research follow-up.

Five types of post-treatment data were collected from both experimentals and controls as the basis for evaluating project effectiveness. These were (1) the application of an interview schedule, (2) the administration of psychological tests, (3) the review of MDC records and MDC field service case files, (4) the analysis of MDC data cards, and (5) the analysis of Quarterly Illegal Activity forms returned by MDC Parole Agents. Numbers 2 through 5 represent normal activities in post-treatment data collection. Typical problems were confronted. Records were inconsistent and lacked various bits of information at points, some handwriting was undecipherable, not all Parole Agents responded to inquiries in the data collection process, changes in the forms used for administrative purposes caused confusion, ambiguous questions in early versions caused non-comparability of responses, and so forth.

An attempt was made to ask the first few subjects to complete post-treatment questionnaires independently of project staff. As might be expected, information that resulted from this technique was so incomplete and difficult to interpret that it was abandoned in favor of a personal interview by research assistants who followed a carefully constructed and tested schedule with many answer categories parallel to items in the Pre-release Questionnaire. (See Appendices E through G for selections from this schedule.) Those pilot phase men who filled out the questionnaire on their own were rescheduled for personal interviews.

The discussion which follows is a report of the post-treatment research interview, the initial procedure and the necessary modifications that were made along the way.

Initial Post-Treatment Flow: The names of all parolees were arranged on a monthly basis according to their release date. Prior to their "maturity" (12th month of parole) notification by letter was given to the MDC Supervisor that the parolee should be informed by the Parole Agent that MRC project staff wished to interview him. MDC then contacted the parolee with a prepared letter asking him to call MRC for an appointment. Notification that this had been accomplished was relayed to MRC by postcard. If after one week there was no answer, project research staff attempted to contact the parolee in order to set an appointment. If MRC was unable to make contact, the Parole Agent was re-contacted in an attempt to locate the parolee.

When the subject was found, an appointment was made for him to come to MRC. The Research Interviewer administered the MMPI, Semantic Differential, Year XI of the Porteus Maze Test, and the Terminal Interview Schedule. If, on the other hand, the parolee did not show up for the appointment, it was the responsibility of the interviewer to contact him again and reschedule the appointment. This occurred regularly. Upon completion of the testing and interview, the Parole Agent was notified that the interview had been completed and that the subject, if an experimental, had successfully completed his obligation to the Special Condition of parole. The project team members also were notified that a terminal report was due.

Problems in Obtaining Interviews: Many problems presented themselves in this process: (1) some parolees would come in for interviews but would not complete tests, either for lack of time or because of refusal to take the MMPI again. In such cases, he was given as much pressure to take the MMPI as seemed appropriate but not to the detriment of losing all information in the Terminal Interview Schedule, (2) some would make appointments but not show up, and (3) some refused to come in at all.

Actual and alleged reasons for the lack of cooperation included these: (1) some parolees may have been violating the law and were concerned that this would be revealed, (2) some had been discharged from parole and wanted to disassociate themselves from all correctional authority, (3) some were suspicious of the purpose of the interview, (4) some, especially sex and drug offenders, were embarrassed about their past record, (5) some found it easy to evade the research because they were out of the state or country, (6) some were simply never found and thus never were notified, (7) some worked on two full-time jobs and realistically had very little available time, (8) some would not come without being financially reimbursed, and (9) some were resentful because they felt that MRC had created problems for them in the past, ("They got me fired." "They didn't pay me enough when I was going to school.")

Because of these problems, certain adjustments were made in the process in order to maximize the post-treatment follow-up. Modifications were made so it would be possible to see the ex-convict at his convenience any hour, day or night. Interviews were made on all seven days of the week, ranging from early morning to the very latest hours at night. Money inducements were provided. It was necessary in some cases to pay transportation costs for men who lived some distance and were unable to visit MRC conveniently. Occasionally, additional financial inducements "for transportation" were made to persons who would not cooperate otherwise. Interviews were made anywhere that the uncooperative parolee wished. When it became necessary due to problems of transportation, resistance, or such extraneous factors as imprisonment, hospitalization, or work commitments, the interviewer went to the parolee. A partial list of places where post-treatment interviews were conducted includes MSRM, Minnesota State Prison, the State Hospital in St. Peter, Hennepin County Jail, Dakota County Jail, Ramsey County Jail, Minneapolis City Jail, Minneapolis Workhouse, restaurants, homes, and the University of Minnesota campus.

In many instances Parole Agents lacked a current address when they attempted to contact the parolee. Either the parolee had recently moved without leaving a forwarding address, or the records were in error. In such cases, letters and phone calls to friends, employers, landlords, girl friends, parents and ex-convicts were utilized. Either MRC was not known to these persons or when known had positive connotations. Cooperation was given in most instances as a result.

Another minor but very important factor in contacting subjects occurred when a parolee finally did call in after MRC had some difficulty in locating him. Rather than merely setting an appointment, it was imperative that the interviewer obtain the parolee's current address, "hangout", and telephone numbers of various places where he might be contacted. If this was not done at the time and the parolee failed to keep the scheduled appointment, he tended to get lost again.

In addition to the above procedures for locating missing subjects, the staff watched local newspapers for arrests, sentences to workhouses, city jails, etc. In several instances missing subjects were located in this way. The staff at MSRM also was very cooperative in providing information about recidivists returned to their institution. Informal contacts of experimental subjects with members of the MRC staff were a valuable source of information on where and how to locate them.

Persistence combined with the fact that the interviews were made both day and night and all days of the week accounted for the high degree of success in contacting project subjects for terminal research. In spite of this, 20 controls and seven experimentals were not interviewed.

CHAPTER TWO

TREATMENT

The treatment envisioned at the time of the first application for this project in 1963 was, in general, to intervene at a number of levels and in a multiplicity of problem areas. Parolees were seen as deficient in a number of areas, and their deficiencies were viewed as related to further criminality (recidivism) following release from their correctional institution.

The services of MRC were characterized at that time as "flexible and individualized". Those which were later to become the experimental variable were described as "anything the client needs". It is evident that this rather open-ended description, even though reasonably accurate in terms of MRC services at the time, did not represent a treatment procedure sufficiently explicit to be measured accurately and sustained consistently over the course of a controlled experimental project, so modifications were in order.

The description of services, however, implicitly set forth the widely accepted idea that lack of psycho-social and vocational adjustment, particularly the latter, are related to recidivism. Furthermore it implied that the content of treatment in the proposed project would include a multiplicity of psychological, social, and vocational efforts "tailored to the special requirements of this population". (See Appendix H for the full description of services which was included in the original application.)

Compounding this problem of a somewhat ambiguous connection between a theory of cause and the envisioned treatment is the fact that the services of MRC itself evolved during the project. A number of innovations in agency practice took place. Staff knowledge and effort changed by virtue of experience and as a consequence of normal staff turnover.

As in almost every implementation of program plans, it was necessary to deviate from some details of the original proposal, but these deviations were minor and did not violate the intent or purpose of the project. For instance, instead of using only the WAIS as originally proposed for the measurement of intelligence, other tests included in the battery administered at MSRM (AGCT, Stanford Achievement Test, Doppelt, or short WAIS, etc.) were substituted and met the same treatment needs.

In order not to end up with a series of experiments which could not be described explicitly and would be much less accurately connected with measures of effectiveness, it became necessary to settle on a point of view regarding what was thought to cause recidivism and then to attempt to carry this perspective forward throughout the project regardless of personnel changes and shifts in agency program.

This chapter will describe how this was accomplished. It will briefly indicate the project's understanding of the parolee and the nature of services at MRC which, it was hypothesized, would succeed in solving the adjustment problems of ex-convicts. It will discuss the evolution of the treatment point of view, the nature of the treatment itself, and the continuing effort to keep the content of this, the experimental variable, constant. This chapter will also contain a section on the parolee's responses to treatment, both initially and at the various points in the service pattern. Insofar as possible, uncontrolled variables which seem likely to have affected outcome will be identified. Issues and problems in treatment and some thoughts relative to the treatment of the offender will round out the chapter.

PAROLEES AS REHABILITATION CLIENTS

The project proposal described the typical parolee as lacking in educational qualifications, deficient in occupational skills, possessing poor work habits, impaired in emotional development, and living in an unsupportive environment. All of these characteristics are frequently cited as being associated with recidivism. Although the basic objectives of treatment were to reduce recidivism, enhance employment and change psycho-social adjustment, the latter two were considered as means to the first. That is, it was assumed that recidivism would be reduced by enhancing employment success and by changing social attitudes and psychological adjustment.

An increasingly clear picture of the parolee from the perspective of treatment evolved through experiences in the project:

First of all, he of course has a criminal record. This presents handicaps, both in society's view of him and in his perception of himself. On the average he has spent from one to five years in more than one correctional institution. Because of this removal from the community at a crucial age (most likely 16-25), he has missed normal job experiences, social adjustments, and advanced education and training.

In other words, when the average parolee is released he is considerably behind others of his age in terms of preparation for competitive life. He returns to the community and picks up the pieces where he left off but--and this is most crucial--most of his acquaintances, who have not been in prison, have made significant forward strides. The result is that he is likely to gravitate to those who share his handicap, thus reinforcing his insulation from wholesome social attitudes and relationships.

The problem is not that he will learn criminal behavior from fellow ex-convicts, for he already has an adequate grasp of the techniques. The real trouble is that he is cut off from alternative ways of thinking and acting. His world remains small, his creativity unstimulated, and his repertoire under-developed.

The older parolee usually has a salable skill of some sort, but it may be for a type of work to which he has very little real commitment. For example, he may have been trained as a barber in the correctional institution, but in some cases this was because the barbershop was the only training station available which matched his custody classification.

The parolee tends to be a product of extremely disadvantaged conditions in social class, physical environment, and family circumstances. He has been a failure even apart from this correctional record, which in many instances includes poor institutional adjustment. His work history outside the institution is spotty and predictive of continual failure.

He has developed a variety of techniques to resist assistance, many of which are annoying. He is plainly not asking for help nor, initially, is he willing to commit himself to either an implied contract for rehabilitation services or to a long-range program of career planning and training.

In many instances, the parolee is forced to appear for help as a condition of his parole. This is difficult to cope with, because most rehabilitation workers, uninitiated to the correction client, have developed their techniques with clients who more or less willingly submit themselves for services.

On the positive side, the average parolee can get a job in spite of his handicaps, particularly during periods of high employment (as existed during the course of this project). However, this fact tends to hide one of his most serious problems, namely his inability to remain very long on a given job and his tendency not to recognize satisfaction from legitimate activities. This is true partly because his choice of employment all too often does not fit his assets and liabilities and also because he tends to be pessimistic about his chances. As a result, he interprets many neutral events negatively.

It is unlikely that the parolee has experienced a sophisticated vocational evaluation or job try-out. He therefore enters the rehabilitation process with many unrealistic expectations and distorted ideas about his capabilities. Some of the experimental subjects, for instance, wanted to become engineers or lawyers but totally lacked the potential for such occupations.

Even more than traditional clients, the parolee carries with him a need for immediate gratification and has a great deal of difficulty accepting the possibility of some indefinite, hazy reward at the end of his poorly understood effort. Some of the experimentals asked for short term training programs because they were unaware of their previous inability to sustain interest in a program for which there were few, if any, immediate rewards. Upon release, parolees are usually beset with additional problems, such as lack of money, old debts, inadequate living arrangements, limited and outmoded clothing, and marital difficulties.

Other characteristics of these men are impatience, the tendency to drink to excess, lack of experience with success, and lack of knowledge about legitimate community resources and job opportunities (Ericson and Moberg, 1967).

It is clear that the youthful, recently released parolee does have some of the same problems as the more traditional chronic hard-core unemployed, but in addition he has a far more serious anti-social pattern to overcome.

Procedural Influences on Clients

A number of important issues inherent in project procedures affected the clients at intake. First, each parolee was required to cooperate in the experiment. While it is extremely difficult to evaluate the effects of this compulsion, the majority of experimental subjects reacted in a predictably ambivalent fashion. Most felt that they had served their time and thus had "paid" for their crimes. Yet many expressed a cautious interest in the potential help that was promised them, and a few were highly motivated to accept project services. Initial response and subsequent adjustment were not necessarily related.

Another factor affecting experimental subjects was a new releasing procedure. At about the same time as the project selected its first subject, MSRM instituted a three week pre-release orientation. The average inmate viewed this new program as delaying the release date of paroled men and laid the responsibility for this on the project. The negative effect of this feeling cannot be ascertained completely, but treatment staff found that during the early months of the project it was a problem needing discussion at intake.

Still another factor was the differential experience of parolees at MSRM. Work assignments differed considerably in terms of custody classification, demands of corresponding duties, and the intimacy and kind of supervision (Kauppi, 1967). As a result, each of the various shops tended to select a certain kind of inmate and to produce somewhat different results in terms of subsequent adjustment.

For example, one experimental subject was asked whether or not there were any uniquenesses in the particular shop to which he was assigned. His insightful report was as follows:

No question about it. The shop was different. For one thing, the men there had superior intellect. Most had completed high school prior to incarceration. Most were serving long sentences and had maximum security classifications. Most had been committed for crimes of violence. Many were well read and sustained an interest in the arts. There was plenty of interaction and a cohesion and esprit de corps not found elsewhere. No rats [squealers] lasted in this shop.

The instructor and the inmates got along. They had good rapport. The instructor wasn't viewed as a "hack", but he really was an instructor. There was a feeling that you were getting a salable skill. Very seldom were there any discipline reports--not because he didn't report them--they just didn't occur very often. He identified less with the letter of the rules and more with long-term inmate adjustment. He was honest. He told the men what negatives he was reporting in his reports which were used in the decision to parole. He had insight into the men. He didn't lean on us when we were in trouble with ourselves. He used a minimum of supervision and the men respected this and responded positively.

There was tremendous pride in our group. We felt like we were the "elite". Also, our shop was considered the originator of most liberal ideas in the joint. There was also more contact with the outside world because of the nature of our work. Probably most important, our instructor kept telling us of the value of our training for the time of our release. People on the "outs" [free world] asked for the graduates of our shop. Occasionally we believed in ourselves.

It is fair to conclude that this MSRM shop, with the men it tended to receive, had the potential of turning out inmates considerably different from those coming from other shops by virtue of its specific tasks and the added impact of a skilled instructor. Not all assignments had these attributes. Thus each subject brought with him to the project a considerably different pattern of institutional experience.

In general then, every parolee came to the treatment process with many handicaps. These ranged from his previous antisocial record through his tendency not to be able to sustain attempts to change to, in certain instances, a non-growth producing institutional experience. In addition, his understanding of vocational goals was minimal, and he possessed a variety of reality problems in his life situation which interfered with efforts on his part to avoid renewal of his criminal career. Furthermore, the project was seen by most experimentals as an added burden, at least until experience had demonstrated otherwise.

High Frequency Problems of Parolees

During the course of the project, certain reality problems emerged over and over again among members of the experimental group. Because they are so common to ex-convicts, they are often overlooked, yet some are amenable to the provision of concrete services. These high frequency problems were:

- (1) The lack of respectable competitive clothing. Most parolees have little clothing upon release and what they do have is usually four or five years or more out of style. Because of changes in weight, their clothing may also be ill-fitting.
- (2) The immediate need for necessities of life. The majority of parolees cannot immediately set up housekeeping in any kind of adequate fashion. They must scrounge around for towels, sheets, blankets, a radio, a clock, cooking utensils, and so on.
- (3) The pervasive need to celebrate release from the prison institution. Most parolees lack preparation for fulfilling the desire to celebrate without going over the precipice into illegal behavior. They become drunk, indulge in fights and quite often spend their first free weekend in the local jail.
- (4) The initial struggle to figure out the Parole Agent. For the most part, the parolees' conceptions of Parole Agents are based on distorted views that are not necessarily related to the particular agents in question. Hearsay and past experiences, as well as general feelings of hostility toward authority, create unhealthy expectations for the relationship. This problem was sometimes extended, in this experiment to project treatment staff.
- (5) Family adjustment. In some cases the families of parolees were better off without having the stress of a father or husband who was unreliable and the center of much stress when he was present. During the time he was missing, the family was assured of a steady and reliable income through AFDC and other programs. Upon his release the family suddenly became dependent upon what they considered to be an unreliable person. This feeling of insecurity in the family is pervasive in almost all cases where men have dependents.
- (6) Long-standing obligations acquired during their pre-institutional life. For the most part, these are financial debts. This becomes an unusual burden due to the fact that the man does not have any personal resources upon his release, will not acquire much during the first year following his entrance into the community, and yet is expected to resume payments immediately.

- (7) Lack of opportunity for relating to non-criminal people. The average parolee is not comfortable in pro-social participation and as a result tends to gravitate to old haunts and friends. Furthermore, many resources that were available for him prior to institutionalization when he was younger, such as the YMCA, Boys' Clubs, and group programs, are no longer available to his age group.
- (8) Internalized hostility. Well assimilated hostilities are quite visible among parolees as they pass through stressful situations in the community. These mental orientations become difficult to suppress, especially under any kind of stress.
- (9) Drastic adjustments from institutional to community living. The strains accompanying the responsibilities of freedom cause many parolees to become dependent upon medications, alcohol, or narcotics for the control of their emotions. They often seek medical referrals for whatever help might be available. They definitely feel unsafe in the new environment of the non-institutional community.
- (10) A feeling by the parolee that he has not paid his debt completely. Although he has been confined and sees this as full payment to society for his offense, he must now, in a very real sense, "repay" his wife, neighbors, family and friends for the discomfort and shame that he has caused them.
- (11) A feeling of incompatibility with society. The vast majority of parolees lack a sense of self-worth. This is due, in part, to the negative defining process of the criminal justice system. They know that society views them as criminal, dangerous, or even grotesque.

TREATMENT PHILOSOPHY AND GOALS

Treatment strategy during the planning of the project did not and could not take into consideration those characteristics of experimental subjects which were identified only later through project experience. Early conceptions of treatment were based primarily on the assumption that the offender would not recidivate if he were vocationally adjusted, so getting him the right job would prevent recidivism. Eventually, however, the project's frame of reference was built on the multiple premise idea that the parolee's problems in adjustment are multiple, so intervention must be directed at a wide variety of problems, including his underlying psychopathology and group relationships. The desire to modify each client's interpersonal associations and social identification pervaded the entire treatment effort. A career plan designed as an alternative to antisocial behavior was provided. The primary contribution of

project services was seen as enhancing pro-social opportunities for the man who was willing and ready to take certain steps or who, on the other hand, wished to reform but had few or no opportunities to do so.

The Treatment Point of View

In the process of implementing the basic philosophy and general goals of the project outlined in Chapter One, the treatment team developed a series of principles that guided their activities and relationships with the experimental clients. Detailed expressions of the philosophy and goals of treatment evolved as the staff grappled with practical problems, discussed their activities, tested alternative ways of implementing project goals, and learned more fully the unique characteristics of parolees as vocational rehabilitation clients.

The following list briefly summarizes the major conclusions that were reached and implemented by the treatment staff. (The numbers assigned to the items are only for reference convenience; they do not necessarily indicate any particular order or priority of importance. The authors of this report hope to present them more fully in subsequent publications.)

- (1) Treatment intervention should sustain the parolee's verbal commitment to pro-social attitudes. Upon release from a correctional institution, nearly all parolees express a desire to "go straight". Assume that this expression is genuine and reinforce it even when it is fraught with ambivalences.
- (2) Provide pro-social alternatives to crime which are realistically attainable by the client.
- (3) Devote primary attention to exterior, objective adjustments and adaptive patterns rather than to the internalized subjective "insight therapy" or "uncovering" approaches which typically are stressed in treatment.
- (4) Focus chiefly upon the immediate functioning of the client even when the staff sees its activities as primarily long-range in scope. The typical parolee cannot sustain long-range deferred gratifications. He must be provided with short-term advantages. (In this project these were in the form of money grants, loans, verbal rewards, jobs, social experiences, and similar reinforcements.) Such life-attached situations offer a significant basis for action and clearly demonstrate staff interest.
- (5) Use dependency constructively. While clients' dependency upon professional helpers often has detrimental consequences, emancipation from project staff at too early a stage of the rehabilitation process also has dangers. It often was necessary to sustain a form of dependency in order to help the parolee develop his own strengths.

- (6) A "deficit premise" was an underlying assumption of the treatment. This means that each man's problems were interpreted to be a result of something missing from either his environmental opportunities, skills, self-concepts, or other personal or situational circumstances. Treatment should help restore balance by eliminating the deficits.
- (7) The deficit premise and the multi-factor nature of the parolee's disabilities demand an eclectic approach to services on his behalf. Comprehensive programming is needed to cope with the wide variety of his problems. The simultaneous application of social services, work evaluation, vocational preparation, vocational counseling and placement and psychological services is therefore important.
- (8) The total life situation needs treatment attention even when it is parceled out into manageable pieces among staff specialties. Each staff specialty must be focused upon the total context of the whole man even as it performs its own unique functions.
- (9) Upgrading of skills for competitive employment potential therefore plays a key role in total life adjustment. Successful experiences in employment and training will be integrated into the parolee's self-concept, thus diminishing his need for anti-social behavioral responses and increasing the likelihood of rehabilitation.
- (10) Many traditional predictive factors used in vocational rehabilitation are of limited validity among parolees because of their unique personal and social characteristics and the special types of cultural deprivation they have experienced. Discrimination against clients on the basis of conventional prognoses must be avoided.
- (11) Attributes which commonly get parolees into trouble may be a source of success if diverted into wholesome channels. Their anti-social behavior both before imprisonment and during institutionalization frequently reflects leadership ability, aggressiveness, imagination, creativity, drive, goal-direction, stamina ("guts"), and other attributes. If these can be directed into training or employment, they can be major factors in successful adjustment.
- (12) The tendency to limit treatment services to those who appear to be the most cooperative parolees should be overcome. If staff anticipation of a client's failure leads to withholding or withdrawing services from him, the lack of services may cause the predicted failure when otherwise it might not have occurred. Discriminatory application of a self-fulfilling prophecy is a violation of human rights. The client's lack of cooperation is itself a symptom of the basic disability from which he needs to be rehabilitated.

- (13) Staff members should extend themselves to offenders warmly in an accepting and supportive fashion even when they are hostile and resistive. Hostility, anger, spitefulness, alienation, resentment, and aloofness grow out of the fears and frustrations of parolees as clients but are easily misinterpreted by staff as indicative of inadequacy and failure. Staff orientation is especially important in dealing with ex-convicts.
- (14) The most effective therapy occurs when the parolee is brought physically into the presence of treatment personnel and facilities. The special condition of parole, reimbursement for expenses, allowances for subsistence and maintenance, meaningful shop experiences related to future employment, and easy accessibility to project staff were means used to implement this principle in this project.
- (15) Help should be extended even when it is not asked for. Staff should be sensitive to subtle indicators of needs and should offer themselves to all, not only to those who ask for assistance.
- (16) Accept the risk of being "taken in" or "conned" by some subjects. Money grants and loans may be abused, but the beneficial effects of the help to many parolees will more than compensate for abuses by others. Since the typical ex-convict has had a great deal of "couch time", he may easily "con" uninitiated staff into thinking he is functioning adequately when in fact he may be engaged in maladjusted behavior. Precautions associated with recognition of possible hypocrisy should not lead to the contrary error of assuming all past offenders to be unredeemable and thereby again helping to promote recidivism through the self-fulfilling prophecy.
- (17) Firmly control anti-social behavior. A central purpose of corrections is to protect society against repeated violations by offenders, so there must be no toleration of illegal activities. When the treatment team becomes aware of current illegal acts by the parolees, they should communicate clearly that they are unequivocally on the side of the law. In many instances it is appropriate to communicate such information to the client's Parole Agent. While this may inhibit rapport with some clients, it is the only proper form of action, for rapport is a means to an end, not an end in itself. The end sought is that of keeping parolees from committing law violations that would harm society and remove them from the program through parole revocation or new sentences.
- (18) Anticipate crisis experiences and use them to deal with the total pattern of client needs rather than with only the immediate event. When responses in crisis intervention are directed toward an anti-social act, the client's negative self-image is reinforced; this should be avoided.

- (19) Identify anti-social influences that may be putting pressure upon the parolee. These may be environmental or they may pertain to friendships and social participation, both of which are pertinent to his self-image as law-abiding or a law-violator. Identification of anti-social pressures is a first step toward their control.
- (20) Financial assistance may be a key component in the rehabilitation of parolees. They have emergency needs for clothing, housing, transportation while job-seeking, and other activities that typically exceed their meager resources upon release from confinement. They are not considered good risks for loans of any kind. Especially if they are involved in educational or training programs, they lose their opportunity for work for as long a period of time as they are in training, so this help is of immediate practical importance.
- (21) Because parolees differ from other rehabilitation clients, it may be necessary to segregate them into specialized programs or to assign them only to selected staff members. In this case this was done by having an MRC team assigned solely to the corrections project.
- (22) However, individualized treatment is necessary despite the fact that certain types of need are recurrent and common to almost all parolees. Every parolee is a unique person.
- (23) Professional distinctions are less important than the goal of helping clients. If relationships are established between a parolee and a particular staff member, it is wiser in many instances to have him direct all aspects of that client's treatment than to refer him to several other staff members for the various types of services needed. A one-to-one relationship with a staff member may be the basic vehicle conveying the parolee to a faith in his own ability to succeed, so specialized services from others on the treatment team may best be mediated through the one staff member with whom he has established a relationship of trust and rapport.
- (24) Comprehensive efforts to help are needed on numerous occasions, both during and subsequent to the period immediately following release, when the parolee is about to give up his pro-social striving. These include times when a minor failure or setback causes discouragement, when trouble with an employer or fellow-worker arises, when he is tempted by a friend or former prison acquaintance to participate in a crime that is "sure to succeed", when his prison record gets in the way of buying a car or getting a job, when he is discriminated against in loan applications or insurance

policies, and when disappointments in love or family relationships cause despair. Intensive services must be available without delay; even waiting half an hour for a telephone callback may contribute to failure.

- (25) Psycho-social vocational rehabilitation services may be seen as providing prosthetic devices. One can consider the new environment, skills acquired through training, clothing purchases with a subsidy, and a modified self-concept which are provided through the project as prosthetic in the sense that they replace missing attributes or bolster up weaknesses.
- (26) Follow-up treatment activities should cover an extended period of time. Even the twelve-month span of treatment in this project is too short for most parolee clients. Employment success is far from complete at first job placement, and the temptation to recidivate may emerge years after release from incarceration and long after termination of parole.

Obviously, these principles, which summarize the treatment point of view of this project, overlap with each other. They are organic parts of a bundle of services rather than isolated units. Not necessarily unique to the treatment of parolees, they grow out of the professional orientations and experiences of work evaluation, vocational counseling, clinical psychology, social work, and other "helping professions".

Innovations

The evolution of a treatment point of view in this project called attention to those aspects of services which differed from traditional correctional practice. Among the most important are these:

- (1) The comprehensive nature of the services. Few treatment approaches for parolees include a simultaneous application of social services, vocational evaluation, counseling and placement, psychological services, and vocational preparation. Fewer still provide this "under one roof".
- (2) The vocational emphasis. The majority of services to offenders appear to be of the psychotherapeutic kind without any direct skilled intervention to promote career planning. This project focused on maximum vocational adjustment as the primary means to total life adjustment.
- (3) The sophistication of vocational evaluation. The MRC has available in its program one of the most advanced work evaluation facilities in the nation. This entire resource was utilized in this experiment.

- (4) The commitment to training. Many programs involve some kind of training, but few provide a massive attempt both to evaluate who can best benefit from given types of training and to place high risk clients into vocational and educational programs (including college) normally are reserved for bright, highly motivated clients who happen to have some kind of disability.
- (5) The comprehensive program of services in the immediate post-release period. While post-release community treatment for parolees currently exists, most programs are available only to selected parolees. This project studied the egress process in some detail and provided a basis for improved post-release programs designed for all parolees, not only a selected few.
- (6) The availability of substantial direct financial assistance in the immediate post-release period. For some time correctional treatment personnel have recognized that financial resources are necessary in order to respond to emergency needs of parolees. Normally financial assistance comes only after a great deal of negotiation and the establishment of various kinds of eligibility, for parolees are not considered good risks for loans of any kind. This project experimented with direct grants and loans to parolees who, in the judgment of the treatment team, needed such assistance.
- (7) The experimental design. Innovations in services to offenders and other clients abound, but relatively few are being tested for their effectiveness under controlled experimental circumstances. As a result, statements about what works and what does not are based on hunches and opinions at best. With the qualifications noted in Chapter Three, this project has carefully maintained a design that allows for comparing treatment outcomes with an equivalent randomly selected group of non-treated parolees.

Agency Modifications During the Project

It was necessary to resist many proposed innovations in the midst of the experiment. The research requirement necessitated a sustained treatment pattern in order to delineate explicitly what was done and to have this done to all of the experimentals. This included resisting implementing the idea about five months into the project that a half-way type residence could assist the adjustment of parolees. It may have improved results, but then the research would have had to measure the differential effect of such change.

Anxiety about results on the part of many led to numerous other suggestions to revise the nature of treatment radically during the project. It was the judgment of project staff that many of these ideas

radically departed from "normal" agency practice. Because they would have been initiated while the project was in process, they would have been utilized by only a small part of the experimentals. Furthermore, none of the ideas, since they were merely hunches, had been proven effective for other agency clients and certainly not for offenders of the kind in this project.

It was often difficult to determine whether a proposed modification fulfilled the project's basic research design or violated it. As a result, certain "normal" agency practices were modified, but some proposals were turned down as being too much of an experiment within an experiment. A summary of the most important modifications of usual MRC practice follows.

- (1) A full MRC treatment team was assigned to treat only parolees. If these clients had come through normal agency channels, they would have been assigned to whichever one of the then four agency teams had an opening. (Although there was considerable discussion regarding whether or not parolees were sufficiently unique to justify one team to do all of the work, the decision to use only one team for parolees was made prior to the entrance of the first experimental subject into the agency program and this approach was maintained throughout the project.)
- (2) Parolees were isolated from other agency clients for group sessions. It was felt that the problems of criminal records, their unique implications for employment planning, and other special characteristics of parolees required special attention.
- (3) Because many of the parolees worked at part-time jobs during the day, the treatment team maintained evening office hours. This was an attempt to reach men who were, in the team's judgment, working below their capacity and yet at the same time, were confident that they did not need full treatment services.
- (4) A major modification of traditional MRC practice was that the treatment was encouraged to "reach out" with services to those men who resisted help by not showing up. For the most part, the normal MRC treatment approach did not include extending itself in any active fashion to people not asking for help, for there was a waiting list of clients. As indicated earlier, one characteristic of parolees is that they tend not to submit themselves for help, hence the necessity of the Special Condition of Parole and for aggressive services.
- (5) The project evolved a shorter than normal period of time in which to complete all of the necessary work evaluations. Offenders differed from traditional MRC clients in that they were not physically handicapped. This revised downward the amount of time required for evaluation in the MRC workshop.

The typical offender, in addition to being faster, was considerably less patient than the traditional physically handicapped client. He will not "spin his wheels", so the work evaluation staff speeded up their timetable.

- (6) In order to cope with offenders' dislike for paper and pencil tests, the first day at MRC excluded such normal activities. Instead, it included orientation activities with a tour and discussions calculated to minimize any of the naturally overwhelming features of the first day "on the street".
- (7) Contrary to traditional MRC practice, person-to-person client contacts in this project began prior to a client's actual entrance into the agency. This was done by an intake and orientation visit to MSRM by the project Social Worker one to two weeks prior to each parolee's release.
- (8) The idea of modified, part-time MRC treatment was instituted. Some men were scheduled on a half-day basis. Some attended less than five days per week from the beginning of their program. Some never received vocational evaluation in the MRC workshop. All of this was made possible by the fact that project treatment output was not based upon a contract with a referring agency. Flexibility in terms of how long and to what extent treatment should continue was possible. Such flexibility seems an absolute requirement of successful service to offenders. They are typically impulsive and events in their life often occur rapidly and with little warning. To wait for decisions which progress through many levels of a bureaucracy almost guarantees that the responses will be too late and ineffectual.
- (9) Because of built-in flexibility, project staff were able to make subsistence and maintenance decisions on a need basis and in a rapid fashion. This departure from normal contractual procedures is, in the judgment of project staff, another absolute necessity in services for parolees.
- (10) The unique arrangements which were agreed upon by the participating agencies departed somewhat from normal referral to MRC procedures. Project staff had a somewhat freer opportunity to judge and act on the client's potential for training. The DVR was by no means a rubber stamp for staff recommendations. It was, however, cognizant of the experimental and innovative nature of the project. This resulted in the extending of DVR funds for training to many men who normally would have been assessed as poor risks for training programs.

THE TREATMENT PROCESS

The problem at the outset of treatment was how to implement the multidisciplinary treatment in terms of the threefold purpose of the project—to reduce recidivism, to enhance employment, and to change attitudes. This was to be accomplished in such a way as to make it possible explicitly to describe the treatment and measure its effectiveness. Each of the team's disciplines—social work, vocational counseling, work evaluation, and clinical psychology—approached the parolee from the context of its particular expertise.

The struggle to evolve a treatment point of view was compounded by the difficulty of both social work and vocational counseling to maintain its own focus. Theoretically, each should "mind its own business", but each profession traditionally could "find jobs" for parolees, each could help on financial matters, each could deal with familial problems, and so forth.

The solution to this constantly emerging issue was continually to discuss mutual roles. Informal and formal conferences were held in order to intervene in role conflict. No rigid rules were applied to keep disciplines focused. Often an individual treatment team member, while conferring with other members of the team, would pursue or direct virtually all aspects of treatment with a given client. This did not appear to be an issue in terms of treatment, but it did prevent exact measure of the effect of various components of input.

Staff Conference



The team approach itself also involved a great deal of discussion. Without a doubt, some felt that it was a useless concept thrust upon present practice by the mere existence of the variety of disciplines represented on the team rather than by the validity of the idea. Nevertheless, the project remained committed to the team approach.

Team services, of course, require that each member share a common frame of reference and a common objective. It became clear that the project team operated in a slightly different manner from traditional multidiscipline teams. In almost every case a particular worker developed a more intense relationship with a given client than he had with any other members of the team. As a result the client had one particular worker regardless of the discipline, as his primary agency contact. This team member utilized other skills than those customary in his specialty. For example, the Social Worker used the job placement skills typical of Vocational Counselors and the diagnostic skills of Clinical Psychologists. In other words, team members did not apply their skills equally to every client. On the other hand, the team met together relative to each client for purposes of understanding him and enhancing the comprehensive nature of his treatment.

Treatment effort by the team can be grouped into activities related to five major areas:

- (1) Practical living. These services include living arrangements, budgeting, money grants, and "unique support". (The last of these refers to such activities as appearing in court with the parolee on a minor violation, assisting him to move from one apartment to another, and other miscellaneous matters.)
- (2) Vocational adjustment. These include preparation for vocational services, vocational choice, job seeking, training or school, employer contacts, school and training contacts, and sustaining vocational adjustment.
- (3) Personal problems. The focus here was upon "interfering personal problems" of an intra-psychiatric nature and insight therapy. In this population, insight therapy was seldom practical.
- (4) Secondary clients. These include spouse, parents, other family, friends, and roommates.
- (5) Relationships with community resources. These included work with DVR counselors, Parole Agents, MRC medical and psychiatric consultation, welfare and other community agencies. There were occasional referrals for specialized consultation relative to the surgical removal of tattoos and similar activities. Consistent with the comprehensive nature of services, the treatment team involved the resources of two specialists in alcoholism for three men.

The sections that follow will summarize some of the chief processes, programs, and activities through which services were provided in efforts to meet the clients' needs.

Notification to Experimental Parolees

As soon as the selection was made and experimental subjects identified, a letter was sent to each indicating that he had been referred to MRC. While this duplicated the verbal notification given to him in the institution by MSRM staff, it was an attempt to personalize the process and to give men who tended to be skeptical concrete evidence of their having been selected.

The letter emphasized project help in finding and keeping suitable employment. It did not go into any details about multidisciplinary services, but it gave the man notice and clarified the issue of what he should do if he already had a job.

Enclosed with the letter of notification to the experimental parolee was an explanatory statement by the project Social Worker to clarify certain misconceptions about the nature of the project. Another letter was sent to the Parole Agent to which the client was assigned notifying him of project services, making arrangements for a meeting on the client's first day at MRC and naming the project Social Worker who served as the primary liaison person in relationships with Parole Agents.

Initial Experiences with Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center

The Intake Process: The intake process of MRC began with a visit by the Social Worker with each client at MSRM about a week prior to his release. The objectives of the Social Worker at intake were as follows:

- (1) To establish a beginning relationship with the client.
- (2) To determine the probable extent of MRC services jointly with the client.
- (3) To obtain background information concerning the client's social functioning and any pertinent data about his past which might help to understand the man better. Such information was useful in pre-arranging the first several days of treatment. It also provided a basis for contacts between MRC and employers, social agencies, schools, hospitals, etc., in order to obtain additional background information.
- (4) To determine the extent of housing and transportation needs.
- (5) To determine the extent of the parolee's financial support while participating in the program. Although DVR and project

funds usually assumed such responsibility, the Social Worker sometimes contacted public or private welfare agencies for assistance when appropriate.

Following the intake interview the Social Worker wrote a brief intake report which included a summary of background information, impressions of the client's present functioning, and his suggestions to the treatment team for the approach to be used in the parolee's initial phase of treatment. A letter was sent to DVR requesting transportation and subsistence funds.

Administratively, a date was tentatively set for the client's first day at MRC (usually a week or two after the intake interview) and the parolee and his Parole Agent were notified. Included in the notification was specific information concerning housing if this had been clarified by this time.

The primary objective of the first day at MRC was to provide the parolee with a positive "set" toward the agency through familiarization with its function, physical plant and treatment team. This was done informally. The secondary objective was to help the parolee meet immediate personal needs related to housing, finances, transportation, debt management, family problems, clothing, etc.

Agenda for the First Day at MRC: The general format of the first day's activities was as follows:

- (1) 10:00 a.m. - New parolee(s) met with Social Worker in MRC "apartment".
- (2) 10:00 a.m. - Social Worker introduced members of MRC team and briefly explained the nature of services performed at MRC as they might apply to the parolee. Parolees were free to ask questions of any team member.
- (3) Team conducted a brief tour of the agency.
- (4) Coffee Break - Approximately 10:30 a.m. Group congregated in the "apartment" for coffee and informal discussion of disciplines, teamwork, etc. Representatives from DVR and MRC were introduced at this time.
- (5) Parolees then met with their Parole Agents in offices provided by MRC.
- (6). Lunch
- (7) 12:30 p.m. - Parolees met for individual conferences with:
 - (a) Vocational Counselor (Job prospects, possibilities of training, work skills needed, etc.)

- (b) Social Worker (Living situations, finances, transportation, clothing, etc.)
 - (c) Project Coordinator (Overview of project, responsibilities to Special Condition of parole and other matters of general business.)
- (8) Mid-afternoon - Parolee(s) returned home or commenced implementing plans to satisfy immediate needs which were related to success in the program or to employment.

The guiding principles of this agenda were brevity, adequate structuring, maximum stimulation and informality. The length of the individual interviews necessarily depended upon the needs of each parolee. It was hoped that every new parolee would be able to leave the agency by 2:00 p.m. This allowed the team time to go into conference at 3:00 p.m. to discuss implications for each new parolee's program.

The first objective of services immediately following a parolee's release from MSRM was to provide him with living arrangements compatible with long-term objectives of total life adjustment. Second, the matter of clothing usually was involved in the day or two immediately following release. It was the viewpoint of project personnel that a man's self-concept was closely related to his appearance. Third, a man's past debts were of concern to the treatment team. Attempts were made to arrange payment of these debts over a period of time and in some instances to put off the first payment until the core program (the in-agency evaluation phase prior to job placement) was completed. The fourth immediate objective was the provision of transportation between MRC and his residence. This was obviously necessary in order to get the man to attend regularly. Often, it was complex since many men lived outside of Minneapolis.

Attendance at MRC: Every effort was made to motivate the parolee to come to MRC every day during the core program. Besides making the program itself as meaningful as possible, the Social Worker gave weekly attendance reports to the Parole Agents and provided transportation and incidental expense monies based on the number of days present plus excused absences in a given week. The report to the Parole Agent kept him informed of the parolee's participation in the program, gave him a basis for discussing progress when he visited with the subject, and provided the leverage considered necessary for certain of the experimental subjects.

Diagnostic Conference: The treatment team held a formal diagnostic conference approximately one week following each subject's release. The Parole Agent who had jurisdiction in the case was invited and attended with only a few exceptions. Other personnel from MRC, DVR, and MDC who were active in a case also attended. The purpose of this conference was to develop plans for a client's program at MRC and to begin long-range planning.

A summary of the discussion and conclusions was prepared; one copy was filed in the client's case file at MRC, and others were sent to the Parole Agent and DVR.

Staff conclusions were based on data from MSRM files, schools, medical and psychiatric consultation, psychological test results, interviews and first week observations in the work laboratory of MRC.

Quite often the parolee was brought into the actual conference and in all cases the results were shared with the man during an interview with the Social Worker immediately following the conference.

This outline indicates the general format of the diagnostic conference:

I. Client Description

A. Social Functioning

1. Present living situation
 - a. Address
 - b. With whom
 - c. Supportive of adjustment or not (should he stay)
2. Impressions as to man's commitment to a legitimate career
3. Attitude toward program as seen at Intake Interview: very interested, moderately interested, passive, uninterested, or resistive
4. Involvement in criminal sub-culture (if known)
5. Need for income
 - a. Dependents
 - b. Debts or judgments
 - c. Other

B. Employment Information

1. Prior to institutionalization
2. While in institution
 - a. Where
 - b. What learned
 - c. Adjustment
3. Present vocational plans or aspirations

4. Results of vocational tests
 5. Can he profit from training
 6. General functioning in reformatory
- C. Psychological Data
1. Clinical impression
 2. Intelligence
- D. Educational Data
1. Level attained
 2. Performance
 3. Where obtained
- E. Vocational Evaluation Data
1. Level of investment in work laboratory: motivated, passive, or not motivated
 2. Tentative skill evaluation
 3. Work habits

II. Treatment Plan

- A. Goals
- B. Types of Specific Intervention

Vocational Evaluation

The MRC vocational evaluation and adjustment program is both evaluative and adjustive; the client learns about himself in terms of his skills, aptitudes, interests, work tolerances, and so on, and he also has an experience directed in part to modifying his self-concept, attitudes toward work and in some instances his skills. MRC has calculated that approximately 60% of the traditional clients referred for vocational evaluation have substantial personal adjustment problems together with or in addition to strictly vocational problems. The ultimate goal of the vocational evaluation is to assist the client in determining his assets and liabilities relative to his career, to assist in establishing a job goal and to intervene in problems which interfere with holding employment.

Certain kinds of problem areas are recurrent in clients referred to the MRC vocational evaluation unit. Most often a combination of problems exists in a given case and is the basis for referral for MRC services. These problems can be categorized as follows:

- (1) Motivational problems. Clients who possess this problem are seen as not having the "productive spirit". Little interest is shown in fulfilling their role as workers in society. Job seeking behavior is erratic and ineffective. It is difficult to establish that they have actively sought work. They will rationalize their inability to find work by indicating that "there are no jobs", or, in the case of parolees, "I have a criminal record".
- (2) Anxiety problems. These men lack confidence in their ability to meet work standards. Their self-concept is poor and they fear failure. Often these people can produce if there is positive feedback in the work evaluation situation that helps them find confidence in their capacities. Work experience in the shop setting can provide occupational identity.
- (3) Hostility problems. Certain clients, especially parolees, possess long-term, well-integrated feelings of hostility and resentment, especially toward authority. They project responsibility for their difficulties onto others, sometimes their fellow workers. Often they have poorly controlled aggressive tendencies and their work history indicates extreme difficulty in job retention.
- (4) Dependency problems. These parolees are characterized as childish, possessing unrealistic expectations of work and life. Their concept of work and independence is immature. They have not emancipated themselves from parent figures and have had little practice in decision-making and problem-solving, especially as regards employment.
- (5) Inexperience problems. These persons have had little or no contact with work and as a result are naive about the demands of employment. They view themselves as inexperienced and have not incorporated the worker image. They may not reject work but simply are ignorant of its meanings. Their information relative to the variety of employment opportunities as a result of their inexperience is woefully inadequate.
- (6) Physical problems. Traditionally, MRC works with persons possessing physical handicaps. In the case of project parolees, physical handicaps were limited to only one man. However, many did complain of a sore back, heart conditions, and other problems which often seemed to be a rationalization for inactivity.

- (7) Reality problems. In this category would fall such problems as a lack of education and training, low skill level, history of institutionalization without major benefit, no recent work experiences, minority group status and criminal record.

The Vocational Evaluation Process: The work performed in the vocational evaluation department at MRC is accomplished through a series of job samples over a period of time, in the case of parolees usually from two to four weeks. The vocational evaluator selected and assigned tasks and instructed each parolee in the performance of these activities. He observed the parolee's performance and recorded data relative to speed, accuracy, learning skills, physical characteristics, dexterities, coordination, strength, work tolerance, relationship to supervision and to fellow workers, and work adjustment in general.

The physical plant includes 9,000 square feet on the second floor of the MRC building. In this work setting there exist approximately 1000 job samples subheaded under the following major categories: automotive, clerical, electrical, graphic arts, heavy manual labor, home-bound activities, janitorial, kitchen work, light metal work, negative retouching, nurses aid, orderly, precision machine work, sheetmetal, welding, woodworking, and miscellaneous. Therefore it was possible to make a judgment relative to the parolee's work on any number of tasks in relationship to the competitive work world.

Section of MRC Vocational Evaluation Area

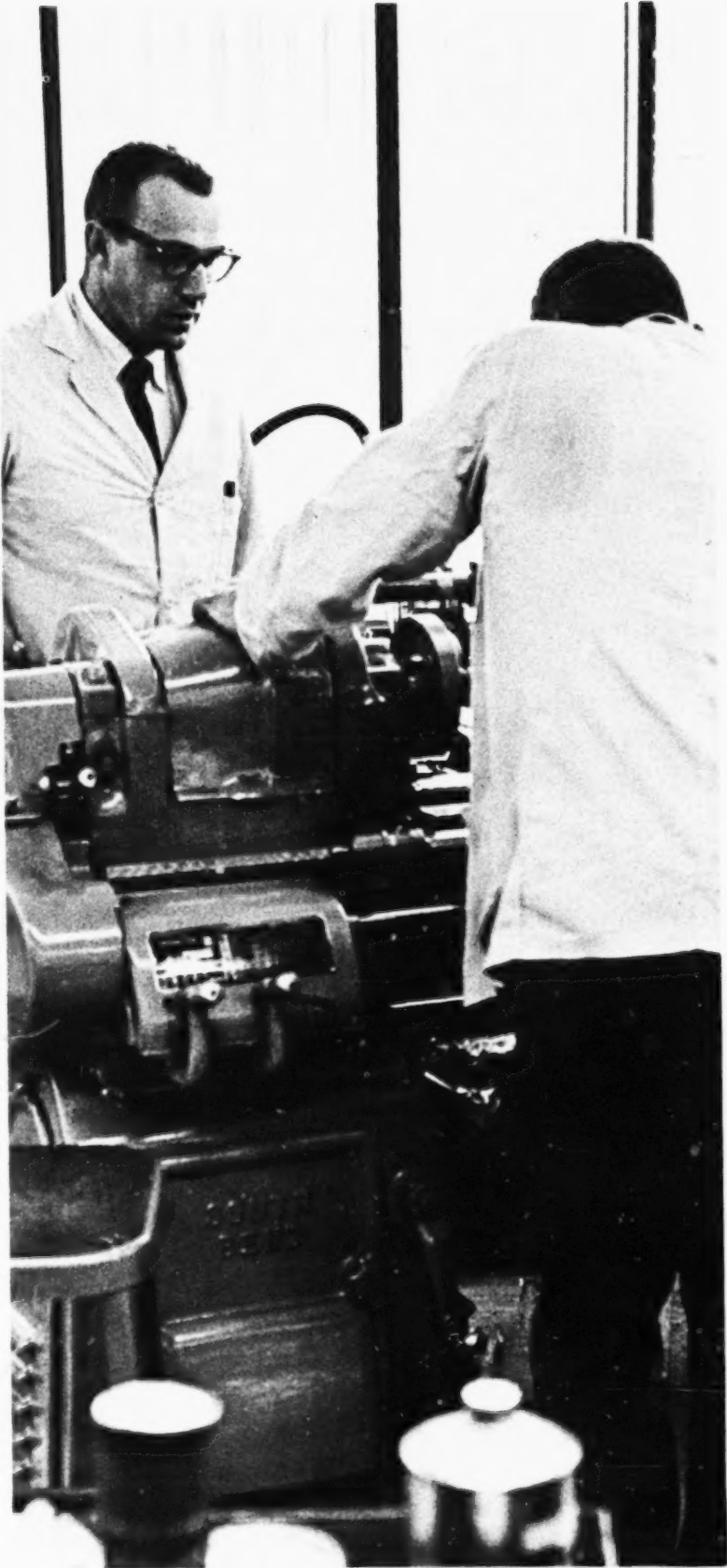


The average time spent in the vocational evaluation area by the parolee was 12.6 days at $6\frac{1}{4}$ hours per day. The first week was spent in basic skill evaluation.

On the first day at MRC the parolee was given a tour of the shop and a brief orientation to its general objectives. The next day or two were spent in taking formal paper and pencil tests and in some cases solving personal problems outside of the agency. After this testing and the resolution of emergent problems, the parolee returned to the shop and received a more thorough orientation to shop rules and a clear explanation of the exact procedures and tasks in which he would be likely to become involved.

Following conclusion of the basic skill evaluation, the parolee and this vocational evaluator held an informal conference relative to ongoing focus of the program. He then returned to the shop and entered into an in-depth evaluation along certain agreed upon areas of interest. During this period he was informed of his progress.

Many parolees were able to verbalize a vocational goal when they entered the project. One objective of the vocational evaluation was to assist them to consider other alternative job goals. This was done by encouraging them to be evaluated in areas not directly in their interests but for which there was some hunch on the part of staff that they might be capable.



*Project
Vocational
Evaluator
Observing
Client*

During this entire period, in addition to skill evaluation, work habits and attitudes also were evaluated and discussed. Work adjustment problems and negative work habits were brought to the attention of the parolee in an attempt to help him modify these problems. Generally speaking, parolees had difficulty in modifying negative work habits. The most successful approach was direct, straightforward, well-defined, firm and sincere.

In order to evaluate men who had jobs during the day, a special evening program was set up shortly after the project began. It started at 6:30 p.m. and terminated at 9:30 p.m. A total of only eight parolees took advantage of this program, but it showed promise of being a valuable supplement to the daytime program. Auto tune-up, micrometer, and slide-rule practice, algebra through teaching machines, typing, printing, and drafting facilities were utilized.



Client Receiving Instruction in Basic Electronic Assembly

Parolees as Vocational Evaluation Clients: If it were necessary to categorize parolees as vocational evaluation clients, one could identify them as motivated, resistant, or dependent. One might even add a fourth group "chronic mess-ups".

There were many examples of men who did not cooperate in the vocational evaluation program during the initial period of their release but who returned after either failing on jobs sought on their own or after deciding through consultation with other project staff or Parole Agents that their present employment situation was beneath their capacity or unsatisfying. In many instances this was more productive than work with men who came into vocational evaluation immediately following their release before they had a chance to test their own ability to make an employment adjustment.

Absenteeism and tardiness were problems throughout the course of the project. The average was 6.1 days absent per person or about 1/3 of the days when the average parolee should have been present.

In many instances parolees seemed to use the vocational evaluation shop as a shelter for those periods of time when they were failing to adjust in the community. These men would return to the program, be accepted, and spend a week or two in the shop evaluating themselves for alternative careers. Rather than make a prior decision that men in this category were goldbricking or manipulating funds, the program was opened to all who were eligible to come. It was hoped that through this experience the men, whether or not positively motivated, might benefit from the treatment and renewed contact on an intensive basis with the treatment team. Chapter Three includes reference to the potential predictive value of vocational evaluation ratings.



Drafting

Skills

Being

Evaluated

Important differences between parolees and traditional MRC clients were discovered in the vocational evaluation experience. Parolees are far more alert and physically capable. They are more guarded in conversation and more suspicious of helping persons. They possess more manipulative skills. Partly because of their recent incarceration, they tend to lack such fundamental requirements of day-to-day living as clothing, a watch, an automobile, and so on as discussed previously in this chapter. They are much faster, usually finishing as many tasks in three weeks as it takes the physically handicapped to finish in four and a half or five weeks. They are far more deprived culturally than many of the physically handicapped and about equally as deprived as the chronically unemployed who are treated at MRC. Parolees were described as follows by the vocational evaluator: "...these men are a very interesting group to work with. They are unpredictable, irresponsible, manipulative, clever, bright, and also quite dependent underneath an adequate front."

Vocational Counseling Services

The major goals of vocational counseling in this project were (1) the establishment of a realistic, feasible, and attainable vocational plan, (2) the actualization of the plan, and (3) follow-up services to meet individual needs while the plan was being put into effect.

The vocational counseling process interview was one of several techniques utilized by the vocational counselor in working with the parolee. This interview, in most cases, involved itself with the process of establishing the vocational plan.

The direction of any specific interview depended upon the current status of the client's planning, the type of relationship between counselor and client, and most important, whatever was of particular significance to the client at that time. This type of interview was concerned with providing a climate in which a client could communicate effectively with the counselor without feeling too inhibited. Therefore it could take on many characteristics, i.e., structured or unstructured, directive or problem centered, information gathering or imparting, test reports or interpretation, and many others. The existing emotional climate was perhaps the most critical factor contributing to the success or failure of the counseling interview.

The broad goals of the interview situation were to enable the client to gain insight into those background, personality, interest, aptitude, aspirational, and achievement factors which substantially affected his successful establishment in the world of work. The counselors worked with the client's perception of himself in terms of these factors. Because the parolee reacted to those factors according to how he perceived them, it was important for the counselor to recognize when a client's perceptions appeared to be distorted. Once this was recognized, a considerable amount of interview time was spent in the resolution of these

distortions. The end result hopefully found the client better able to understand himself and more capable of choosing vocational goals commensurate with his assets and limitations.



Project Vocational Counselor and Client

In conjunction with the process interview, the following techniques also were employed:

- (1) Test interpretation. The counselor selected vocational tests for the purpose of gaining a more objective evaluation of the client's aptitudes, interests or levels of achievement. The test results were interpreted to the client during the counseling process.
- (2) Occupational and training information. The counselor provided the client with information regarding occupations, employment trends, union shop practices, hiring policies, training facilities, workshops, and other information necessary for effective employment planning.
- (3) Role playing and/or demonstrations. The parolee was helped to learn how to (a) conduct himself in an employment interview, (b) "sell" his assets to an employer, (c) use community resources successfully in job seeking, (d) study effectively, (e) write resumés, and (f) utilize other job seeking skills appropriate to his particular goals.

Training and Education as Treatment: Identifying men who would be likely to benefit from training and educational programs was one of the most important tasks of the treatment team. Each experimental subject was reviewed for training potential. His past performance in high school and institutional programs was evaluated. His aptitude and interests were checked through standardized instruments.

Interest in training ran the complete gamut from resisting even the idea to being very highly motivated. Many men were obviously equipped for training in terms of intellectual and other abilities but possessed self concepts so negative as to preclude even thinking through the idea of training. This occurred on every level of intelligence and capacity; there was no apparent relationship between aptitude and interest.

The goal of the treatment team was to encourage training and education for every man demonstrating any capacity whatsoever. The rationale behind this objective was simply that parolees tend to sell themselves short in terms of their capacities. They allow their past pattern of failure and deficient self-concepts to affect future planning in a manner that guarantees failure.

Several problems emerged in the process of enabling a parolee to begin and to sustain his interest in training and education. One was the problem of convincing the man himself that he could succeed if he attempted.

Secondly, there was the issue of discrimination against ex-convicts. The Vocational Counselor had an obligation to inform the training facility of the man's background and record. It was found that parolees were handled considerably differently by the administrators and instructors of the various facilities. Expectations were seen as higher than for "normal" trainees or students. Schools demand a security check on new students who have felonies in their records and keep a rather strict accounting of parolees' activities. Whether appropriate or not, this tendency to single out the ex-convict adds to the resentment felt by men who are already under close parole supervision.

A third problem encountered in encouraging training was the fact that this kind of client does "mess up" occasionally when given training opportunities. This caused some training facilities to accept the men only reluctantly and others to turn down all on a blanket basis, having generalized from one or more prior negative experiences. The project team was caught in the dilemma of wanting to encourage even high risk experimental subjects to enter training and yet to avoid detrimental consequences to existing training resources which would prevent them from accepting future referrals. This was resolved by a compromise between reality and the need to experiment. The Vocational Counselor therefore was compelled to hold back on some clients thought to have the least likelihood of success.

The fourth problem, that of sustaining men who began training, was by far the most difficult challenge. As Chapter Three indicates,

the team was able to get 22 men into education or training. Parolees lose interest very easily and rapidly, so much effort in the way of conversation and direct help was necessary to help them stick to their educational plans. The staff failed in this respect in many cases.

Social Services

The main goal of social services in the project was to assess and work on problems in social functioning that inhibit employment adjustment and tempt the parolee to engage in illegal behavior.

The specific kinds of activities can be listed as follows:

- (1) Direct intervention in housing arrangements. Plans for housing were discussed with each parolee prior to his release from MSRM. These plans were finalized in conference with the man's Parole Agent. Often the Social Worker was required to help the parolee modify his living arrangements during the course of the year following his release.
- (2) Direct help in the provision of clothing, housekeeping articles, and miscellaneous financial assistance for incidentals. This was most important during the period immediately following release, but it continued throughout the project for many men.
- (3) Financial management. The majority of the parolees did not have an adequate grasp of personal budgeting. This was compounded by heavy obligations for old debts. Garnishments and other problems existed throughout the course of the project. The Social Worker assisted in the management of personal finances and referred many parolees to such consumer resources as banks, credit unions, small loan companies, and so on. Often emergency financial help was necessary when a family was suddenly removed from welfare rolls and made fully dependent on the parolee breadwinner.
- (4) Supportive therapy. The Social Worker spent much of his time in conversations with the parolee relative to the man's feelings about himself and his attitudes toward pro-social versus anti-social activities.
- (5) Providing opportunities for social participation. The Social Worker referred many parolees to community resources and programs for the purpose of encouraging social participation outside of the criminal sub-culture. MRC had a Monday evening social participation program to which many parolees were invited and some came. Those for whom this latter referral was the most appropriate were the most inadequate and those who lacked visible social participation.

- (6) Indirect intervention in emerging illegal activities. Most parolees, of course, had opportunities for renewing their criminal careers. (There was no direct way of intervening when they actually participated in criminal activities except to re-confine them in a correctional institution.) The methods that were utilized to prevent crime were chiefly conversational and indirect. Attempts were made to convince them that pro-social alternatives were more rewarding than anti-social. Positive feedback was utilized to sustain the parolee's initial verbal commitment to pro-social activities when it existed. This was accomplished through a relationship in which the Social Worker provided information and attempted to teach new modes of behavior. It was hoped that there would be sufficient positive feedback to support the deferred gratifications from pro-social striving and to outweigh the immediate advantages of stealing or other illegal activities.
- (7) The provision of shortcuts through community resources. The Social Worker utilized direct intervention through personal visits and phone calls in the pursuit of help from a variety of community resources. He provided introductions, appointments, and letters of reference in order to intervene in the slow frustrating process typical in traditional helping agencies. Many of the parolees had a variety of social relationships which were stressful at one time or another. The Social Worker worked directly with families, roommates, girl friends, and other persons in their environment in an attempt to enhance whatever there was in the way of supportive relationships.
- (8) Referrals to medical and psychiatric consultation. A number of parolees either asked for or were convinced by staff members that they could utilize medical or psychiatric assistance. Referrals for treatment were made through MRC medical and psychiatric consultation services.
- (9) Direct intervention with the Parole Agent. Often the parolee had acquired distorted expectations of the parolee/Parole Agent relationships. These were based on hearsay, reformatory gossip, past experiences, and general feelings of hostility toward authority. In other cases the Parole Agent did not appear to understand the objectives of the project or the needs of an individual man. The Social Worker then initiated or was called upon to hold a conference with the agent in order to clarify misunderstandings.
- (10) Crisis intervention. While many of the above emerged in the form of crises, immediate intervention also was needed for problems connected with arrests, fines, workhouse sentences, driving and drinking problems, fights, and peaks of despair. Crisis intervention always occurred after the fact and efforts were directed toward minimizing the negative effects of the crisis.



Project Social Worker Confers with Client

Group Work Services: At the onset of the project, MRC was committed to the use of group as well as individual techniques in the treatment of its clients during the core program. Among MRC's regular activities were an evening Job-Retention Group, a Social and Recreational Group, and a group to increase motivation for clients who were difficult to place. Parolees were occasionally integrated into these groups. In addition, the agency had recently developed a "Caseload Group". The latter met each morning for approximately 45 minutes, and consisted of all clients in the Social Worker's caseload.

The functions of the "Caseload Group" for this project included the following:

- (1) By seeing all clients on a day-to-day basis, the caseworker and (subsequently) other team members were able to follow the client's thoughts, feelings, and problems on a regular basis. Alternative approaches to the client and help on emerging problems were more easily initiated immediately.

- (2) Group discussion enabled each parolee to receive suggestions from persons other than members of his professional treatment team. It helped him to realize that he was not alone in feeling anxiety or lacking capacity to deal with his life situation. Some who found it difficult to express their feelings found the group to be less foreboding than an individual interview.
- (3) The group experience opened the way in many instances to self-understanding through exchanging information and receiving support from other group members.
- (4) The "Caseload Group" allowed the caseworker to spend more time in individual contacts while still providing a considerable amount of service to all clients in his caseload.

The use of group therapy other than the "Caseload Group" was more limited than had been initially anticipated for a variety of reasons, the most important of which follow:

- (1) Intake was spread over a period of 16 months and the rate varied during each month. This resulted in a very unstable group, especially when considered with the fact that men remained in core treatment only an average of less than a month.
- (2) A number of the men worked odd hours, thus limiting the potential size of the groups at any given time.
- (3) Some men resented very much the continuation of ex-convict status that seems to be implied in group activity. It must always be remembered that, unlike alcoholics and drug addicts, the typical parolee does not immediately resume his criminal pattern. In many ways, the only rationale for keeping the law-abiding man in a group of "offenders" is his legal status and past behavior. To be brought together as a group of "criminals" seems to damage self-images.
- (4) Group members were homogeneous in the sense that they were all ex-offenders on parole but were quite heterogeneous in other ways. They ranged in intelligence from retarded to near-genius levels. Their individual situations varied widely. Some needed to know how to sustain themselves in jobs that ranged from dishwashing to computer programming and others needed help with spouse and family problems.

Money Transactions: Almost all of the experimental subjects had financial problems. Some needed immediate financial assistance for housing, transportation, clothing, and incidental expenses, and others needed it later during their one-year involvement with the program.

Direct financial help to offenders has always been thought of as inappropriate and even foolhardy. After all, every one of these

parolees was a felon, and on that basis alone--to say nothing of the very serious criminal patterns existing in most cases--they could not pass the criteria of loan companies and banks. The project team made every attempt to minimize the delay and complexity usually connected with financial help to high-risk groups. Normal relief resources were too slow and encumbered by a myriad of detailed forms and procedures. The treatment team worked on the principle that parolees were most effectively helped when they were asking for assistance. To delay assistance was seen as missing what amounts to a vulnerability for help. Money was advanced when needed. Some were given financial help for training and education costs. The majority of money transactions were in the nature of a grant. A few were advances from project funds to be paid out of an anticipated DVR grant for the man. Others were personal loans.

An example of the value of the personal loan as a part of treatment is the case of T _____ who during the course of his involvement in the project received two \$50 advances. He subsequently repaid both loans. Later he reported to the treatment team that both loans had been significant in helping him meet critical financial needs at times when he had no alternative in mind other than returning to his former pattern of stealing.

Other clients had similar reports of the importance of money advances in times of crisis. There were, on the other hand, occasions when loans seemed not to be related to any positive result and in some instances loans seemed to contribute to the parolee's continuing irresponsibility and dependence. Unfortunately, for the most part loaning money to parolees is an art with few guidelines. Loans were found most helpful and least damaging when used to contribute to the parolee's struggle for independence. For example, a loan to his next pay check for living expenses, with some hope of his being able to pay it back, was better than a loan for the purchase of deferrable items.

Involvement in educational or vocational programs meant loss of opportunity to hold a full-time job and reduced immediate incomes. It also meant, however, the promise of more regular and higher incomes in the future, to say nothing of positively modified self-images which would be conducive to pro-social instead of anti-social behavior. Modest investments in education and accompanying maintenance costs therefore seem highly justifiable.

Clinical Psychological Services

The Clinical Psychologist collaborated with others on the treatment team toward the common goal of contributing to the effective personal adjustment of the experimental subjects in their adaptation to new environmental demands. The work involved evaluation and diagnosis, recommendations for services, staff conferences, therapy, and research.

As a member of the team, the Clinical Psychologist provided data and professional interpretations to assist in diagnosis, therapy, development of vocational plans, and recommendations for services. The psychological examination (diagnostic interview) was coordinated with the relationships already established with the parolee by the Social Worker and Vocational Counselor, and psychological testing was coordinated with vocational testing. Administration of standardized psychometric instruments was done by the psychometric technician. A pragmatic policy was followed in utilizing these instruments and projective or other evaluative techniques. Extensive psychometrics were not performed whenever adequate information sufficient to arrive at a decision for diagnosis or therapy could be secured from other sources, such as from the interview, social history, school records, previous tests, and reports from other team members.

The Social Worker obtained a social history from the parolee while the latter was still at MSRM. The Clinical Psychologist reviewed this history and other referral information for the purposes of: (a) determining the need for further psychological examination, (b) determining the need for further psychometrics, (c) using pertinent information in compiling a report of findings.

The Clinical Psychologist requested standardized psychometric tests from the psychometric technician and administered projective tests when necessary for evaluation of the parolee's intellectual potential, efficiency of intellectual function, possibility of organic defects, special abilities and disabilities, general interests and motivations. She also conducted a psychological examination to assess both personality assets and liabilities. In doing so, she made a determination of the subject's life pattern of handling stresses in order to visualize the probable degree of stress confronting him as he made the transition from reformatory inmate to free citizen.

The content of the psychological report was directed toward answering the question of what services were appropriate. Rarely was it a problem of evaluation for psychosis, neurosis, or organicity. Frequently it concerned the evaluation of character disorders, feasibility of therapy and/or planning the therapeutic approach. The need for more specialized aid in determining the appropriate vocational plan was sometimes indicated. The Clinical Psychologist's report consisted of information in which the examination data, staff observations, interview information and social history were integrated into a summary statement supporting the evaluation and recommendations given in its final paragraph.

The Clinical Psychologist participated in staff diagnostic conferences which were held shortly after each subject's entry into the program and sometimes, if indicated, in planning conferences which were held after the subject had been in the program several weeks. This included serving as a consultant on psychological and psychometric aspects of the issues discussed and re-evaluating the subject following services as an aid in determining his progress and current status.

Certain types of problems were identified by the Clinical Psychologist in the course of contacts with experimental subjects. These tended to be interpersonal, situational, or philosophical. The most frequent included marital conflict, parental conflict and problems regarding girl friends. Conflicts with supervisors, co-workers and authority figures were mentioned less often. There were complaints of self-doubt, inferiority fears, discouragement, frustration in coping adequately with life in general and a few "existential concerns". Feelings of guilt were noticeable only by their absence.

The Role of the Parole Agent in the Project

The most crucial inter-agency relationship was between the project treatment team and the Parole Agents assigned to the various experimental subjects. The basic philosophy was that the Parole Agent was part of the treatment team and should be included in all agency planning for a given client.

In order to facilitate the relationship, a planning and orientation conference was held at MRC on December 23, 1964 for all Twin City Parole Agents and the treatment team. The 34 agents who attended toured the agency, received a description of the project design and discussed various research requirements affecting them. There appeared to be a good deal of enthusiasm and interest on the part of the agents. The project staff communicated the fact that the experimental design was not a study of Parole Agent effectiveness with the control group but rather was designed to study the effectiveness of MRC's treatment team in their work with the experimental subjects. It was indicated that the success of the program depended in large part on the Parole Agents' cooperation and that a demonstration of the validity of the hypothesis conceivably would enhance the possibility of their having vocational rehabilitation services available on a consistent basis in the future.

The Parole Agent was notified by a letter from MRC of the fact that a man under his supervision would be in the experimental group on the seventh day following the granting of parole. A periodic attendance report on each experimental subject was sent to the Parole Agent. Also, project research staff sent, on a quarterly basis, an Illegal Activities Form to agents who had project subjects under their supervision, whether experimental or control.

During treatment the Parole Agents continued their legal relationship with experimental as well as control parolees and in most instances assumed a secondary role in treatment. This was agreed upon in meeting with MDC officials and confirmed through continual contacts between the Parole Agents and project staff members. In other words, the MRC project team carried primary treatment responsibility while the Parole Agent carried primary legal responsibility.

Cooperation between the Parole Agents and the treatment team was in the main excellent. When there were disagreements as to the treatment direction or ultimate disposition of a given parolee, these matters were discussed frankly and consensus was reached. In a few instances project staff questioned Parole Agents' decisions on revocation or other matters, and there were instances in which Parole Agents felt that project staff direction was in error. It is not known whether or not these disagreements affected the clients, nor the extent to which these disagreements were communicated to them. It is the impression of the writers that this problem was minimal.

Services Following Termination of Special Condition

It was necessary to establish a policy relative to experimental subjects who initiated requests for help following their one-year obligation. Obviously, project funds were limited. Treatment staff were being phased into other agency responsibilities toward the end of this project. It was decided that services could continue in an ongoing, active case as long as the treatment team existed in the agency. It also was decided that parolees who were not active in their relationship with the team must have initiated their requests for services prior to their one-year anniversary. Men who did so after 12 months therefore were referred to other community resources.

Most experimental subjects had contact with treatment staff after they had completed the one-year obligation to cooperate in the project. Clients had an average of 3.4 contacts with staff members after that anniversary. Some parolees were still in contact two years following their release, and a few continued to receive relatively intensive services. Many of those who continued visiting or telephoning MRC had established good relationships with staff through the process of being placed in training programs. Some found it necessary to drop in periodically in order to collect their DVR subsistence checks. Channeling the check through the project was an important means of maintaining supportive contact with the parolees.

The Extent of Treatment

The extent to which treatment was applied should not be measured solely by the frequency and length of staff contacts with clients. A casual contact or an interview without any particular focus should not necessarily be weighted the same as an in-depth counseling session.

As a result, a number of indicators were developed to determine the extent of the various treatment components. First, treatment staff were asked to submit a data card following each client contact. This recorded the client number, date, phase, kind of contact, and amount of time involved. Secondly, at the end of the project each staff person was asked to rate treatment effort by category and project phase. This

rating was closely related to the first method. The third method of ascertaining the extent of treatment was to tabulate the amounts of money expended for subsistence, training, and education. Chapter Three includes a discussion of the outcomes of clients in relationship to their use of these resources.



Staff Viewing Group Session through MRC One-Way Audio-Visual Studio

The average number of therapeutic sessions with staff members was 32.27 per client during the first 12 months following release. This does not include any sessions of less than 20 minutes with the Clinical Psychologist, routine intake and diagnostic services, and casual contacts for financial transactions.

The average (arithmetic mean) expenditures directly to or on behalf of the 82 experimental clients were \$76.34 for training, \$140.00 for maintenance, and \$17.45 for transportation, all of which came from DVR. In addition, MRC expended \$152.10 each for living expenses, and as of September 13, 1967, the average amount owed to MRC for small loans advanced for emergency needs was \$8.85.

The most intense and the most extensive efforts by the treatment team were directed, in declining order, toward personal problems of parolees, preparation for vocational counseling services, choice of a vocational objective, job seeking, training and school opportunities, sustaining vocational adjustment, budgeting and living arrangements. Time and effort were devoted also to MDC and DVR relationships, money grants, insight therapy, employer contacts, unique problems of emotional support, friends and roommates, parents, spouse, other family members, psychiatric and medical services, and other community agencies, approximately in that sequence of average frequency. (Relationships with spouse ranked relatively low because most of the men were single. For the few who were married, this was a significant area of treatment effort.)

Responses of Experimentals to Treatment

During the course of the project, a number of positive and negative variables, other than the treatment itself, were found to affect client response. Those deemed most important by treatment staff were the following:

- (1) The influence of family members and friends.
- (2) Financial stability of the parolee, especially with regard to old debts.
- (3) Employers, foremen and supervisors on the job.
- (4) The Parole Agent.
- (5) The automobile. (This is a prominent status symbol, an emblem of freedom, and a convenient instrument for creative decorating, clever bargaining, and constructive expressions of mechanical abilities.)

Parolees tend to have little rapport with professional workers. They find it difficult to understand and cooperate in therapeutic relationships. Initially, they will resist help, especially if they are openly identified as being unable to make a successful adjustment. Inherent in their vocational rehabilitation are many factors similar to those in the institutional handling of criminal offenders. Both programs involve subordination to authority. Both label their clients as failures.

The typical parolee, because he tends to be manipulative, will often exploit the resources available to him. In fact, he must do this in order to justify his participation in post-institutional treatment. As soon as he becomes involved in any rehabilitation effort, he knows he has taken a step which invites the

disapproval of a great number of his fellow parolees. It therefore becomes necessary for him to erect a number of defenses, such as never admitting (especially to his peers) that he is accepting rehabilitation. Rather he will say he is "milking some do-gooders". These defensive maneuvers are necessary to maintain his equilibrium during the transition from anti-social to pro-social attitudes. The traditional rehabilitation client, in contrast, more often seeks someone who will assist him in his discomfort.

Except in a few instances, the parolee's total environment, with all of its limiting conditions, is in almost constant conflict with the efforts of rehabilitation staff. His social participation is, in the main, limited to persons who do not support his efforts.

One of the men in this project was typical. When he was within a month of successfully completing a one-year business course, he moved into an apartment with a friend who had a small but steady income, excess time, and few responsibilities. The student found it increasingly difficult to remain home studying when his roommate was free to "swing". Before long the project subject joined the fun, got behind in school, dropped out, began fighting with his girl friend, and ultimately was returned to custody. He had been succeeding, but the lack of environmental support seemed to be a major cause of his ultimate failure (Ericson and Moberg, 1967).

Issues in Treatment: A project as lengthy and complex as this is bound to present a number of treatment problems during its course. The extent to which these actually affected project results is difficult to assess accurately. It is the judgment of the writers that treatment was influenced either positively or negatively by the following:

- (1) Changes in project treatment staff. There were, in effect, two treatment teams during the project. Three team members left for other employment over a four month period of time and were replaced. As a result, treatment was less adequate than desirable during this transition. Treatment team members varied in both philosophic orientation and relative skills.
- (2) The differential effort of treatment team members. While it was true that all staff initially were enthusiastic about the experiment, it also was true that the accumulation of frustrations from working with a randomly chosen, resistant clientele tended, among some staff, to dampen this enthusiasm. This, on occasion, adversely affected effort and no doubt interfered with the aggressiveness with which they pursued their tasks.

- (3) Compulsory assignment of parolees to the project. While necessary for research purposes, this meant that many persons were so constituted by background, personality, or other factors that it was impossible to help them through services of the kinds provided.
- (4) The "pills to everyone" issue. When conventional criteria were applied to the determination of who might be expected to benefit from treatment, many experimental subjects were seen as unamenable. There was almost constant conflict between the philosophy that insisted that all experimentals should get as much as they would accept in the way of services and the one that said certain experimental subjects would not benefit from certain types of services, therefore these services should not be extended to them. The latter was not the official point of view of the project but was nevertheless a subtle biasing factor affecting the efforts of some persons involved in treatment.
- (5) The "get well before we'll help you get better" problem. Closely aligned with the above issue, this perspective is common among treatment personnel. It is especially strong among those trained to believe that clients must ask for help and demonstrate motivation in order to be helped effectively.

Originally, it was the fear of the administrators of the project that the treatment staff would react to parolees in an unrealistic, even frightened fashion. The treatment personnel who had not been exposed to offenders might leave all limit-setting and confrontation with rules to the Parole Agents, thus appearing to the parolee as vulnerable to manipulation. Actually this no doubt occurred on many occasions, but the opposite was more often the case. Some treatment staff members, at least early in the project, allowed themselves to set too many limits on the parolees' behavior. Sometimes clients were required to prove their worthiness by acceptable action prior to receiving significant aid, especially in the instance of financial assistance for training. This, it should be noted, is a conventional approach in rehabilitation services. Normally, the client, especially in the field of vocational rehabilitation, must demonstrate his interest by helping himself before counselors will risk money and resources. That treatment staff should be even more demanding of the offender in this regard is understandable in the light of society's ambivalence about assisting criminals. The problem here, of course, is that the counseling and training were theoretically designed to result in better adjustment and thus were means to the desirable end. To demand that end before treatment hence was unrealistic.

This particular problem is one of the most crucial in the evolution of a treatment point of view for offenders. Withholding services for lack of positive cooperation is simply a self-fulfilling negative prognosis. It is easy to predict with some confidence that any parolee in a given situation is likely not to make a successful adjustment and thus is not amenable to treatment. The past pattern of adjustment on the part of all ex-convicts of the kind in this project (former felons) is predictive of failure--some relatively more and some less. On the basis of predicted failure, one might withhold significant doses of treatment; as a result, the man fails, and then the staff can congratulate itself on its predictive acumen. To evolve a treatment point of view on the basis of this would have precluded this project. Instead efforts were made to help all experimental subjects to the fullest extent possible, and there was intellectual agreement with that principle. It would be a pleasure to say that all of the treatment staff in this project successfully handled their feelings about this particular problem. They did not. Future programs for offenders by vocationally oriented rehabilitation agencies should very carefully consider the implications of this issue.

- (6) Parole Agent turnover. There were 59 different agents for the 164 controls and experimentals; many clients had three agents or more during their first year. When a parolee was assigned to a new agent, he often experienced changes in interpretations of rules and regulations. This produced anxiety. In a few cases the parolee was in complete despair about his new relationship. The Evaluation Survey reported in Chapter Three indicates some of the difficulties as seen by the agents. The greatest of these seem related to deficiencies in the orientation of new agents.
- (7) A partial vacuum in vocational counseling services. Toward the end of the treatment period when some team members no longer were full-time on the project, adjustments in responsibilities were sometimes necessary. During this period of transition, vocational counseling aspects of team services were somewhat limited for a few of the last parolees to enter the project.
- (8) Interdisciplinary efforts. Many times during the project the various disciplines were in conflict. The wholesome results of this probably exceeded the negative consequences. If so, it was basically healthy even though it is reported here as a problem issue. It required much staff time and in some instances special problem-solving efforts to resolve conflicts. To whatever extent this reduced the time available to parolees, it was an issue affecting outcomes.

- (9) Differential criteria for parole revocation. Parole Agents and the two paroling Commissions had different ideas about what kinds of illegal behavior were sufficient cause to re-institutionalize a parolee.
- (10) The Special Condition of Parole. Some consultants felt that the Special Condition for experimentals (Appendix P) was an unusually high expectation and that, as a result, they could not help but fail at a rate higher than the controls. Furthermore, supervision was much tighter for experimentals because project staff learned much more about them and their activities than Parole Agents could possibly know about the controls. When this information was negative, more often than not it was shared with the Parole Agent. In effect, the control subjects may have gotten away with more maladjustive behavior simply because of the fact that they were not under as intense supervision as the experimental subjects.
- (11) Parole Agent insecurity. Despite initial favorable feelings toward the project, a few agents naturally feared that the project might reflect unfavorably upon the nature or quality of their work. One, perhaps representing a few others, declared to a team member that "we can't let you be too successful because that'll make us look bad". This may have made them work harder with the control subjects and less with experimentals, although it should be pointed out that the majority were invested in the success of the project. (See the report on the Evaluation Survey in Chapter Three for their post-project statements about treatment experiences.)
- (12) The research versus treatment issue. Commitment to the necessities of research during the course of treatment varied widely among project staff members and other MRC personnel. This is not unusual in evaluation research or demonstration projects, but it did on occasion create problems of attitudes and feelings about various responsibilities. The typical orientation of treatment staff involves an emphasis upon working with clients and keeping only the barest records. This habitual behavior militated against keeping certain records that would have been desirable for research purposes.
- (13) The evolution of treatment methods in MRC practice. Throughout the course of the project many new methods were experimentally introduced in other agency programs. These innovations repeatedly introduced the question of what ought to be adapted for the corrections project. This is discussed in more detail earlier in this chapter.

- (14) The complex interplay of relationships. The parolee had to relate simultaneously to four or more project treatment personnel even if one was dominant. He also had a Parole Agent (sometimes more than three over the project period), DVR personnel, friends, relatives, acquaintances, employers, and, in the case of those in training, one or more instructors. This is not abnormal for most people in our complex society, but it was sometimes overwhelming to the man who for some years had been required to relate to only a few people, to assume comparatively few divergent social roles, and to have a limited number of responsibilities. Of crucial importance to the understanding and treatment of the parolee is the problem of how he enlarges his sphere of activities and contacts without being overwhelmed by new roles and responsibilities. Without confronting these challenges, however, he cannot depart from past patterns of behavior and remains essentially anti-social in his general outlook.

The precise impact of these 14 problems, most of which appear to involve some compromise with treatment ideals, could not be determined conclusively by project research. It is probable that their negative impact on client outcome was greater than their positive effects. These problems can be expected to recur if similar programs are established for offenders. Being alert to these issues is essential when part or all of this project's services are replicated.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

Since the purpose of the project was to test the effectiveness of a comprehensive program of coordinated multidisciplinary services for parolees as a means of producing changes at the levels of criminal behavior, employment, and personality and social adjustment, the primary measures of effectiveness can be grouped under those three headings. Efforts were made, it will be seen, to be as objective as humanly possible in assessing the results in order that outcomes would not be contaminated by knowledge of which subjects were experimentals and which were controls. Previously validated research instruments were used whenever possible; when none could be found to meet unique project needs, new instruments and techniques were developed.

Three basic indexes were constructed to measure outcomes of the project treatment, parole services, and other experiences of both the experimentals (those who were randomly assigned to receive project services) and the controls (the other parolees, who received only normal parole services). These indexes represent objective criteria that distinguish between relative degrees of success and failure. They were applied impartially to all subjects for which the pertinent data were available. Each of these--the Recidivism Outcome Index, the Employment Success Rating, and the Rating of Personality Adjustment Change--is presented in a separate section.

The possibility of constructing a single composite index to represent all three outcome measures together was explored but abandoned for several reasons. The total number of cases covered by each was different because of the different bases upon which they rested. They are logically different; no single dimension is interwoven into and reflected by all three unless it be some vague type of "adjustment". The Recidivism Outcome Index is based upon a relatively objective classification of status that is not subject to shifting interpretations but rather is the same for every researcher who consistently applies the definitional rules, but the other two ratings are subjective, depending upon mental estimates of judges who put together a large number of separate criteria components to produce their single score. While most of these components could be made objective enough to be computerized, doing so would be a large project in itself, demanding many more subjects for the establishment of reliability and validity than were involved in this project.

This chapter will summarize the three chief outcome indexes, selected findings on each, other social and psychological findings, variations in the treatment of experimentals in relationship to outcomes, comparisons of project subjects with other MSRM parolees, unexpected findings that suggest a need for further research, qualifications of findings, data from an evaluation survey, and some indirect results implemented or initiated as a result, partly or completely, of the project.

RECIDIVISM OUTCOMES

Published statistics reporting the rate at which past criminal offenders become "repeaters of crime" appear exceedingly neat and simple until one begins to analyze the precise procedures used and operational definitions applied to determine these "recidivism rates" (Mandel *et al.*, 1963; Glaser, 1964). These rates vary greatly depending upon criteria representing the degree of severity of the new offense or cause of re-incarceration, the extent to which efforts are made to discover new offenses, and a number of other factors. Some recidivism rates represent arrests; some represent allegations from corrections agents that adjustments are unsatisfactory; and some count only incarcerations following court convictions.

The Sellin-Wolfgang Index of Delinquency, developed at the University of Pennsylvania, appeared at first to provide an excellent objective basis for rating recidivism by the degree of severity of offenses (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1963). Although developed primarily to deal with juvenile delinquency, it focuses upon events that can be classified and scored on the basis of objective criteria of the relative seriousness of offenses in terms of injury and bodily harm, the amount of theft or damage involved, and the number of offenses incorporated into the one criminal event. It provides a single score that can then be compared with the score for other offenses.

Sufficient data were available from court records and pre-sentence investigation reports to calculate the Sellin-Wolfgang Index on the basis of either specific information or informed estimates for the offense for which each of 163 of the 164 subjects had been incarcerated at the State Reformatory prior to his release to the project. No significant differences were found between the controls and the experimentals, and there was no clear relationship between the Index score and subsequent recidivism while on parole.

An attempt was made to apply the Sellin-Wolfgang Index to the severity of offenses committed by project subjects during their first year of parole, but this effort was abandoned because it proved impossible to collect all pertinent court records from the numerous judicial jurisdictions involved, the Index does not apply to all illegal activities, and it represents a classification of offenses rather than of offenders.

This experience and careful study of the literature led to the conclusion that no existing recidivism scale could fully meet the needs of this project. Either we lacked sufficient information for its application, or our situation was sufficiently different from the one that the scale originally was designed to cover that we were unable to apply it.

The Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Outcome Index

The failure of other instruments to meet the need for a scale to measure relative degrees of success and failure from the standpoint of recidivism led to the construction of a new instrument, the Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Outcome Index. It modifies and extends Mandel's instrument (Mandel *et al.*, 1963, pp. 34-36) and is based primarily upon the disposition made when an ex-convict or parolee is involved in a violation of the law, or of the rules governing his parole, or both. Disposition presumably reflects the seriousness of an offense to whatever extent the penalty imposed is linked with severity as interpreted by legislators who make the laws and the juries, judges, and parole boards that interpret and apply them. In consultation with members of the ACC and YCC, judges, probation officers, prison officials, University of Minnesota professors, and others, this scale was developed on the basis of the current legal-judicial situation in Minnesota for young adult offenders. With little or no special adaptation it should be applicable in other states as well.

Table 3-1 summarizes the scale score categories in the Index. With an eleven point range (0 through 10), it can be applied to any event or series of events to classify persons by the degree of success or failure involved. A score of 10 represents pure or complete non-recidivism while 0 represents complete failure.

The Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Index was applied impartially to all 164 subjects for the first twelve months following their release from MSRM. Data used in assigning Index scores were obtained from official Department of Corrections files, which included every report that went on record from the Parole Agents. Such other sources of information as reports from the ACC and YCC, jail and court records, and data collected at MSRM and Minnesota State Prison on persons who had become recidivists, were also used.

It undoubtedly is true that many parolees committed offenses that did not appear on any official record (see data on "unreported Illegal Activities"), but it also is true that a parolee who remains free in society is, to all outward appearances and in terms of normal social criteria, a "success". Even if at a later date he is apprehended on charges of having violated the law, the charges may be dropped, they may be reduced to a lesser plea with a correspondingly lighter disposition, he may be acquitted when tried, or other adjustments may be made.

TABLE 3-1

SUMMARY OF MAJOR CATEGORIES AND SCORES IN THE ERICSON-MOBERG
RECIDIVISM INDEX*

<u>Score</u>	<u>Summary Description</u>
0	Reimprisoned: Convicted of a felony
1	Reimprisoned: Alleged felony
2	Reimprisoned: Convicted of a misdemeanor
3	Reimprisoned: Alleged misdemeanor
4	Reimprisoned: Technical violation
5	Absconded and wanted or awaiting trial for alleged felony
6	Absconded and wanted or awaiting trial for alleged misdemeanor
7	Absconded without other charges, or sentenced to 90 days or more in jail or workhouse, or fined over \$100
8	Convicted: sentence 90 days or less or fines over \$25 up to \$100; or officially reported technical violations without revocation
9	Convicted for minor offenses, no jail sentence, and fines \$25 or less; or recorded technical violation without revocation report; or temporarily jailed without charges.
10	No illegal activities during period covered

It may be argued that there is little variation from one scale score on the Index to the next, but, in general, increasing scores represent a progression of relative success, and decreases reflect increasing failure as indicated by disposition. The Index also allows for numerous as well as single offenses, for it classifies persons on the level of the most serious violations during whatever time period is covered. Since Minnesota does not have capital punishment, the most serious disposition is conviction of a felony and imprisonment in an institution of maximum security.

Divisions between the Index categories reflect Minnesota law. For example, felonies are defined by statute as offenses with a sentence of imprisonment for more than one year. A misdemeanor is a criminal offense that does not result in a conviction with a sentence of more than 90 days or over \$100. Gross misdemeanors fall between the two. Although traffic offenses are sometimes considered "an ordinary hazard of modern life," they were classified along with other felonies and misdemeanors on the basis of the size of fine, length of jail or workhouse sentence, or other disposition. Prosecutions for offenses that occurred prior to the incarceration from which the man had been released on parole to the project were excluded from calculation of the Recidivism Index score because they did not represent criminal behavior that occurred during the project.

Technical violations that led to reprimand or to revocation of parole, re-incarceration for alleged new offenses without any trial to

* For details see Appendix I.

establish guilt or innocence, variations of circumstances associated with absconding, replacements and other complications too complex to discuss in this summary report are allowed for within the Index. (See Table 3-1 and Appendix I.) Slight modifications of some details may be necessary before the Index can be applied in other jurisdictions.

For purposes of analysis, with our relatively small number of cases, the Index scores may be combined into two to five categories. When only two categories are desired, the most meaningful grouping is to consider scores of 0 to 7 as recidivism (failure) and 8 to 10 as non-recidivism (success). The complete failure cases (scores 0 to 4) were reimprisoned in an institution of maximum security, but the marginal failure cases (scores 5 to 7) remained free in society despite an imperfect record that makes future imprisonment possible. Yet upon apprehension the absconder who is alleged to have committed a felony or misdemeanor may be acquitted or given only a minor sentence; so he should not be considered a complete failure in advance of legal disposition. His position as a young adult offender, however, generally is considered more serious than is that of one with marginal success (score 8) who has committed only technical violations or comparatively minor offenses with fines or a brief jail or workhouse sentence. Most persons with qualified success (score 9) committed only exceedingly minor offenses--chiefly traffic violations similar to those common among the general population--or else had technical violations in their Parole Agents' records that were not even reported to the Parole Commission. A fully clear record with no blemish of any kind represents complete success (score 10) on the Index.

Upon careful study of the services actually received by the subjects who had been randomly selected for the experimental group, in contrast to the services that were available to them, some inequities appeared. Certain parolees had received their full quota of services, but others had received few or none. The latter were not compelled to do so because of such special circumstances as already having a job or a reasonable work program planned or awaiting them or a residence so far away from MRC that the staff or Parole Agent did not feel it right to compel cooperation. The 18 cases who received little treatment were labeled "Experimental Group 2 (E-2)". In certain respects they can hardly be considered to have been subject to the possible change-influences of the project, for at most they received merely routine intake tests, "only one" contact or "minimum" services from project treatment staff members, or not more than five group-therapy sessions. In contrast, the "Experimental Group 1 (E-1)" members attended six or more group-therapy sessions or received "moderate" or "intensive" treatment from one or more treatment staff members.

Table 3-2 summarizes findings on the Recidivism Outcome Index for the first twelve months following release. The experimentals have a better record than the controls, and the experimentals with much treatment (E-1) have a still better record. Since all of the parolees were imprisoned for felonies before entering the project, any score above 0

could be interpreted theoretically and loosely as improvement. More realistically, only those with scores of 5 to 10 should be viewed as better off than before.

TABLE 3-2

ERICSON-MOBERG RECIDIVISM OUTCOME SCORES FOR ONE YEAR FOLLOWING RELEASE

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Experimentals</u>			<u>Controls</u>	<u>Grand Total</u>
		<u>E-1</u>	<u>E-2</u>	<u>Total</u>		
I. <u>By Number of Cases:</u>						
0-4	Complete Failure	20	6	26	29	55
5-7	Marginal Failure	2	2	4	8	12
8	Marginal Success	11	2	13	10	23
9	Qualified Success	10	3	13	12	25
10	Complete Success	21	5	26	23	49
0-7	Recidivists	22	8	30	37	67
8-10	Non-Recidivists	42	10	52	45	97
Total Number of Cases		(64)	(18)	(82)	(82)	(164)
II. <u>By Percentages:</u>						
0-4	Complete Failure	31.2	33.3	31.7	35.4	33.5
5-7	Marginal Failure	3.1	11.1	4.9	9.8	7.3
8	Marginal Success	17.2	11.1	15.9	12.2	14.0
9	Qualified Success	15.6	16.7	15.9	14.6	15.2
10	Complete Success	32.8	27.8	31.7	28.0	29.9
0-7	Recidivists	34.4	44.4	36.6	45.1	40.9
8-10	Non-Recidivists	65.6	55.6	63.4	54.9	59.1
Totals		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
III. Mean Scores		6.7	6.2	6.6	6.2	6.4

TABLE 3-3

CALIFORNIA INDEX OF SEVERITY FOR MOST SERIOUS OFFENSE
DURING FIRST TWELVE MONTHS OR PAROLE BY RECIDIVISM
OUTCOME CATEGORIES

<u>California Index Score</u>		<u>Experimentals</u>			<u>Controls</u>			<u>Grand Total</u>
		<u>Rec.</u>	<u>Non-Rec.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rec.</u>	<u>Non-Rec.</u>	<u>Total</u>	
0	No Classi- fiable Offense	0%	50.0%	31.7%	2.7%	48.9%	28.0%	29.9%
1	Least Severe	0	17.3	11.0	2.7	20.0	12.2	11.6
2		10.0	17.3	14.6	2.7	11.1	7.3	11.0
3		16.7	7.7	11.0	27.0	4.4	14.6	12.8
4		6.7	1.9	3.7	2.7	0	1.2	2.4
5		6.7	0	2.4	0	6.7	3.7	3.0
6		20.0	1.9	8.5	21.6	6.7	13.4	11.0
7		26.7	1.9	11.0	37.8	2.2	18.3	14.6
8		3.3	1.9	2.4	0	0	0	1.2
9		6.7	0	2.4	2.7	0	1.2	1.8
10	Most Severe	3.3	0	1.2	0	0	0	0.6
Number of Persons (100%)		(30)	(52)	(82)	(37)	(45)	(82)	(164)

Severity of Offenses

Other findings help to validate the Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Outcome Index and throw additional light on the parole performance of the subjects. Table 3-3 summarizes outcomes on the basis of the 1966 version of the California Index of Severity (Warren, *et al.*, 1966) for the most serious offense during parole in relationship to recidivism. (It was necessary to adapt that Index, which classifies offenses rather than offenders, to fit Minnesota laws and classifications.) Among all non-recidivists (scores 8-10 on the Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Outcome Index) 82.5% had California Index scores of 0,1, or 2. Of the recidivists (scores 0 to 7) 91.1% had California Index scores of 3 through 10. (The higher the score on the California Index, the more serious the offense.) No statistically significant differences between the experimentals and controls were evident on the California Index, although 57.3% of the experimentals but only 47.5% of the controls had scores of 2 or lower. Thus, the offenses of recidivating experimentals were less serious than those of recidivating controls.

Basic and Subsequent Recidivism Outcomes

Official data on recidivism were taken from the files of MDC as of the end of July, 1967, at which time the earliest releasees had completed 31 months of parole and the latest about 13. This made it possible to calculate the recidivism outcome for all but one person, a control whose records had been expunged, well beyond the twelve months covered by the basic Index. Table 3-4 summarizes relationships between the first or basic and the subsequent follow-up outcome measures. The latter obviously could never be better than the first, for each was calculated on the basis of the most serious offense in the cumulative record covering the entire period of parole.

TABLE 3-4

ERICSON-MOBERG RECIDIVISM INDEXES FOR THE FIRST TWELVE MONTHS OF
PAROLE AND THE ENTIRE RESEARCH PERIOD THROUGH JULY, 1967*

<u>Recidivism Index for First Twelve Months</u>	<u>Recidivism Index Through July, 1967</u>				
	<u>Recidivists</u>		<u>Non-Recidivists</u>		
	<u>0-4</u>	<u>5-7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9-10</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Experimentals:</u>					
E-1 Recidivists (0-7)	20	2	0	0	22
E-1 Non-Recidivists (8-10)	8	3	8	23	42
E-2 Recidivists (0-7)	6	2	0	0	8
E-2 Non-Recidivists (8-10)	1	2	1	6	10
<u>Controls:</u>					
Recidivists (0-7)	30	6	0	0	36
Non-Recidivists (8-10)	4	2	8	31	45
<u>Totals:</u>					
Recidivists (0-7)	56	10	0	0	66
Non-Recidivists (8-10)	13	7	17	60	97
Totals	(69)	(17)	(17)	(60)	(163)

*Compare results in Table 3-20

Experimentals dropped proportionately more than controls from the twelve-months rating to the subsequent recidivism rating. Only six (13.2%) of the controls who were successes for the first twelve months dropped into the failure category compared to 14 (26.8%) of the experimentals. Although the small numbers make the difference statistically insignificant, the twelve-months superiority of the experimentals was totally removed. This suggests the possibility that discontinuation of treatment at the end of the twelve-months therapy period had a detrimental effect upon many experimentals. (Some of them had completed only one year of parole by July 1967, but those entering the project earliest had finished about 30 months.)

Illustrative of this possibility is the case we shall call Jay. He was a bright young man who, as a result of project services, enrolled in a computer-programming course, was graduated at the head of his class, and took a job at \$600 a month. While staff knew that he had not completely resolved all of his problems, his case was, for all practical purposes, dropped at about the time of his twelve-months anniversary of release on parole. He was recorded as a success because at this time he had received only one traffic violation.

Shortly after he was dropped from treatment, he began to deteriorate. He did not look to project staff for help until it was too late. In the meantime he had absconded, and warrants had been issued for his arrest. So, although he was free of serious illegal activity through his first year, he was rated as a failure some months later. It cannot be stated dogmatically that he would have continued to be successful if project assistance had been extended; nevertheless, it is obvious that while he was receiving project services, he did not recidivate, and that when this help ceased, he again became involved in serious illegal activities.

Comparisons of Offenses

No technical violations of parole rules were noted in the official records for the first year for 66.7% of the E-1, 60% of the E-2, and 80% of the control subjects who were non-recidivists (scores 8-10 on the Recidivism Index). The respective figures for the failures were 54.5%, 37.5% and 27%. In other words, the control successes had a better record of success while control failures had a higher record of failure on technical violations than did the experimentals.

No misdemeanors were found in the official records for 70% of the experimental recidivists and 43.2% of the control recidivists, compared to 67.3% of the experimental non-recidivists and 66.7% of the control non-recidivists. Experimentals who failed were more likely than controls to fail for reasons other than misdemeanors.

Similarly, 96.2% of the experimental non-recidivists and 91.1% of the control successes had no felony on their official records for the first twelve months following release, compared to 23.3% and 27%, respectively, for the failures.

Unreported Illegal Activities

In each terminal interview, the subject was asked about violations of parole rules and other offenses since release from MSRM, as well as whether or not his Parole Agent knew about such offenses. (See Appendix G.) A large number admitted having committed illegal acts that had not been charged to their accounts. Only a slightly higher proportion of those who failed on recidivism reported such offenses than those who succeeded during the first twelve months, but there were interesting exceptions, and the differences except on felonies were statistically insignificant. (See Table 3-5.) With the one exception of violation of curfew rules, differences between experimentals and controls also were statistically insignificant.

TABLE 3-5

PERCENT OF EACH GROUP ADMITTING ONE OR MORE UNREPORTED
ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES DURING PAROLE

<u>Unreported Illegal Activities</u>	<u>Recidivism Outcome</u>					
	<u>Recidivists</u>			<u>Non-Recidivists</u>		
	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Violation of Drinking Rules	34.4	34.5	34.5	32.5	39.9	35.5
Violation of Curfew Rules	6.9	22.0	14.8	10.9	10.0	10.5
Leaving the State Without Permission	30.9	34.4	32.8	34.8	46.7	39.5
Fraternalizing with Parolees	41.3	59.4	50.8	41.3	36.7	39.5
Violations of Special Con- ditions of Parole	24.0	22.0	23.0	23.9	13.4	19.7
Violation of Other Techni- cal Parole Rules	27.5	40.6	34.4	26.1	23.4	25.0
Buying or Selling Stolen Goods	17.2	21.9	19.6	26.1	13.3	21.0
Involvement in What Would Likely Be a Misdemeanor	34.4	56.3	45.9	37.0	30.0	34.2
Involvement in What Would Likely Be a Felony	27.5	50.0	39.3	13.1	3.3	9.2

Season of Release

The season in which men were released from MSRM apparently had some influence upon their relative success or failure. Well over half (55.4%) of all who were released during the winter months of December through March became recidivists, compared to only one-third of those released in other months (Table 3-6). Surprisingly, and for unknown reasons, these variations were accentuated among the experimentals. Conditions of the labor market are probably a major factor in these seasonal differences. Possibly the "learning experiences" of the treatment staff are a factor also, for the first experimentals in the project were released during winter months and had higher recidivism rates than later experimentals. Since the number of cases released to each subgroup in winter was not sufficiently large to produce statistically significant differences, the variations between the controls and experimentals may be due to chance fluctuations alone.

TABLE 3-6

RECIDIVISM OUTCOMES BY MONTH OF RELEASE FROM MSRM,
BY NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES

[illegible]

EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES

Several considerations prevented going directly to the parolees' employers for evaluations of their employment success. When the parolees provided certain information about employment early in the project, they were promised that no contact would be made with employers. It might have been possible to obtain information about their satisfaction on the job in a roundabout way, but this would have created the risk of calling the special attention of employers or supervisors to the parolees, with the subsequent possibility of discriminatory action detrimental to their welfare. Also, the collection of data would have been exceedingly costly. For these ethical, therapeutic, and economic reasons the employment data used in this analysis are based primarily upon data provided by subjects in the follow-up research after their first year on parole.

The interview information used in evaluative ratings was obtained in the same way for experimentals as for the controls in order to equalize the ratings. Although some experimentals had a favorable orientation toward the project and may have been more open in their terminal interviews than typical controls, their frankness may have reduced the likelihood of getting favorable ratings at least as often as it increased it. They may have been more open about their problems.

Data for 137 of the 164 subjects were collected on all jobs held during the year. (See Appendix F.) Job titles, duties, wages, hours worked per week, how the jobs were obtained and why they were lost or changed, and other information were collected about each. Additional questions about what was liked and disliked, job-seeking methods that led to the work, and other details were asked about the first and current jobs.

Those who were successful on the Recidivism Outcome Index tended to hold a somewhat higher number of jobs since release than those who recidivated. Because of their incarceration, recidivists did not have as long a period of time in the labor market; so this is not a surprising finding. The best recidivism outcomes were evident among those who had a job lined up before release from MSRM and took that job. Recidivists were somewhat less likely to have told their employers about the fact that they were on parole before beginning their first job than non-recidivists (52.5% and 69.7%, respectively). The same pattern but different proportions (27.9% and 35.5%) told the employer on their most recent job.

Primary Employment Outcome Ratings

In order to have a single rating of the employment success of every subject for whom employment data were available, three expert judges, all faculty members of the University of Minnesota with extensive experience in industrial and counseling psychology, evaluated

each subject's vocational success on the basis of his occupational training, labor union status, work experience, education, intelligence and achievement test scores, and summary of data on work and training throughout the first twelve months following release. (See Appendices J and K.) Each man was rated in terms of his achievement during the year in relationship to his personal potentialities on an eleven point scale from 0 for complete failure to 10 for complete success. (See Appendix L.) The ratings were made without any evidence as to whether the men were experimentals or controls. Each rater worked independently, with instructions to "judge on the basis of whether his employment experience and training during the year in relationship to his personal background and capacities represent relative success or failure".

The raters were, of course, more limited in making their employment outcome ratings than they would have been in typical clinical work with clients. One experimental client with an eighth grade education, for instance, was practically illiterate although his AGCT score was 97. His basic emotional and social problems precluded ability to achieve satisfactorily in many work settings, but this information could not be included in the data given the raters without introducing inequality between the experimental clients, about whom work evaluation data, special tests administered at MRC, and numerous other data were available, and the controls about whom relatively less was known. Ratings of both groups of clients, in other words, were based upon information available from the same sources and reported to the judges in identical form. The clinical deficiencies of the data hence applied equally to both experimentals and controls as one means of controlling bias in the ratings.

The composite employment success rating for each subject was made by using the arithmetic mean of the three ratings when all judges agreed that the man had succeeded (scores 5 through 10 according to the judges' cutting point as determined by interviews following completion of their ratings) or failed (0-4). When one judge deviated from the other two, the mean of the two-thirds who agreed was used because the judges implied that in such cases it was probably that some details had been overlooked by the divergent judge.

For the general summaries of employment outcome ratings, scores were grouped into three categories of failure (0-3), marginal adjustment (4-6), and success (7-10). Experimentals showed only a slightly better record than controls (Table 3-7), but the E-1s who had received moderate or intensive treatment had the best success record.

An attempt was made to prevent incarceration as a result of recidivism from contaminating the judges' ratings, but it was not entirely successful. No indication was given them of the periods of time during the first twelve months following release during which the men were incarcerated and hence unavailable for work, but the lack of employment information for certain portions of the year raised suspicions in the raters' minds and tended to bias them against giving high ratings to persons who were in the labor force for only part of the year.

TABLE 3-7

PRIMARY EMPLOYMENT OUTCOME RATINGS BY PERCENTAGES AND MEAN SCORES

<u>Score Categories</u>	<u>E-1</u>	<u>E-2</u>	<u>All E's</u>	<u>Contr.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Failure (0-3)	42%	37.5%	41%	47%	44%
Marginal Adjustment (4-6)	19	37.5	23	18	20
Success (7-10)	39	25	36	35	36
Total Persons (100%)	(59)	(16)	(75)	(62)	(137)
Mean Scores	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.3	4.5

Validating Employment Outcome Ratings

A second group of five judges, also working independently, was used to check the validity and reliability of the primary employment outcome ratings. All five were employed by or related professionally to the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation of the State of Minnesota; so their orientation to employment may have been different. Their ratings were based upon exactly the same data, instructions, and forms, and they were combined according to the same basic rules to form a composite "validating employment outcome rating" score. The primary and validating ratings had a very high coefficient of correlation ($r = .906$, S.E. - .015), but the validating ratings averaged 0.876 points higher. The validating raters tended to have a somewhat wider spread of scores for the subjects, perhaps because there were five raters rather than three or possibly because there was no preliminary discussion by them as there had been by the primary judges in the process of establishing goals and methodological procedures.

Conceivably vocational counselors may have tended to rate the men in terms of typical treatment goals of their profession. Hence, perhaps they judged on the basis of "realistic" criteria compared to a somewhat more "idealistic" rating by the primary raters, all of whom came from an academic setting. The higher scores by the validating raters also justifies the original raters' opinions that a score of 5, which technically is neutral, represents "marginal success", for it is the equivalent of about 6 for the validating raters.

The average (mean) ratings for the 75 experimentals for whom employment data were available were 4.65 for the primary rating and 5.61 on the validating rating. (See Table 3-8.) For the 62 controls, the respective scores were 4.32 and 5.10. The slightly greater improvement of the experimentals (a .96 difference between the two ratings compared to .77 for the controls) may be due in part to a slightly more optimistic view

on the part of vocational counselors toward clients who are in training. (See Table 3-16 and section on "Men in Training".) The average (mean) basic rating for men who currently were in or had been in training or educational programs was 5.36, and their average validating rating was 6.41. The nine who were still in training or education at the end of their first year on parole had average ratings of 6.67 and 8.11, respectively.

TABLE 3-8

VALIDATING EMPLOYMENT SUCCESS RATINGS BY PERCENTAGES AND MEAN SCORES

<u>Score Categories</u>	<u>E-1</u>	<u>E-2</u>	<u>All E's</u>	<u>Contr.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Failure (0-3)	32.2%	18.7%	29.3%	38.7%	33.6%
Marginal Adjustment (4-6)	20.3	37.5	24.0	24.2	24.1
Success (7-10)	47.5	43.8	46.7	37.1	42.3
Total Persons (100%)	(59)	(16)	(75)	(62)	(137)
Mean Scores	5.6	5.8	5.6	5.1	5.4

Wages

The pay rates of experimentals and controls differed at both the beginning and the end of the project. Table 3-9 summarizes these before-after wages. The experimentals generally began at a lower wage level, but they tended to catch up with the controls and even to exceed them slightly by the end of the year. Since 22 of them were in training, their wages initially tended to be lower because of the necessity to take part-time jobs to help meet their financial needs rather than get regular full-time work that might have paid higher wages. Furthermore, several experimentals still were in training at the terminal interview and had only part-time jobs even then.

Employment outcome ratings were not significantly correlated with wages.

TABLE 3-9

WAGES PER HOUR ON FIRST JOB AFTER RELEASE AND ON THE CURRENT OR MOST RECENT JOB AS OF THE TERMINAL INTERVIEW BY PERCENTAGES

<u>Hourly Wage Rate</u>	<u>Recidivists</u>			<u>Non-Recidivists</u>		
	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>First Job:</u>						
\$1.39 or Less	27.5%	18.8%	22.9%	15.2%	16.7%	15.8%
\$1.40 - \$1.79	27.6	28.1	27.9	34.8	16.7	27.6
\$1.80 - \$2.19	13.8	6.3	9.8	17.4	30.0	22.4
\$2.20 - \$2.99	13.7	21.9	18.1	19.6	16.6	18.4
\$3.00 and Over	3.4	6.2	4.9	4.4	10.0	6.5
Other or No Response	13.8	18.7	16.4	8.7	10.0	9.2
<u>Latest Job:</u>						
\$1.39 or Less	3.4	9.4	6.6	6.5	3.3	5.2
\$1.40 - \$1.79	20.7	25.0	23.6	8.7	3.3	6.6
\$1.80 - \$2.19	6.9	12.5	9.8	23.9	20.0	22.4
\$2.20 - \$2.99	24.1	12.6	18.1	28.3	20.0	25.0
\$3.00 and Over	3.4	3.1	3.3	6.5	13.4	9.1
Other or No Response	41.4	37.5	39.3	26.1	36.6	31.5
Number (100%)	(29)	(32)	(61)	(46)	(30)	(76)

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Because such a wide variety of different components is involved in psycho-social adjustment, it was impossible to devise any single composite score that would be logically valid. Psychological test scores are therefore the basic criterion used, but additional data related to adjustment are also relevant.

"Porteus Maze" and "Semantic Differential"

No significant changes were found on the "Porteus Maze" a test to measure brain damage, which was applied to subjects at both the beginning and the end of the treatment year. Similarly there were no significant differences or changes on the 20 concepts with 10 scales each of

the "Semantic Differential Test" (Appendix M), which was applied both at pre-release and termination of the treatment year to 129 subjects. These instruments validated the random sampling of experimentals and controls as a process that resulted in similar groups, but they failed to discriminate between the men who succeeded and those who failed on recidivism and employment.

Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI)

One of the most thoroughly studied topics in the entire project was personality adjustment in relationship to treatment and outcomes as indicated by clinically significant elevations on the MMPI (Kauppi, 1967). An analysis of variance design was developed to test the null hypothesis that there would be no difference in personality change subsequent to treatment between experimental and control parolees in the project. Personality change was measured by the difference between the pre-treatment and post-treatment MMPI scales (using three validity and ten clinical scales) and between overall MMPI change scores (the sum of the ten clinical scale differences). On each of these 14 change indicators, both the algebraic difference and a generalized distance function were used, making 28 analyses in all. These were applied to 43 controls and 60 experimentals. (Of the 82 in each group, 28 controls and 22 experimentals lacked the post-treatment test, and 11 more controls were dropped because of invalid pre-treatment tests.)

In both groups the pre- and post-treatment MMPI profiles most frequently were coded 4'89, a typical psychopathic code common to prison populations. (This represents a peak T-score on psychopathic deviance, followed by secondary peaks on schizophrenia and hypomania.) The similarity of the two groups on the pre-test indicates the fact that they came from the same population in terms of personality adjustment as measured by the MMPI. The similarity after treatment indicates the fact that experimentals failed to change appreciably in personality adjustment as measured by the MMPI despite project efforts.

Only one significant difference emerged between the two groups. The experimentals tended to have an increased elevation on Scale 5 (Masculinity-Femininity) on the post-treatment test, but the controls did not. This elevation is common among males who are college graduates. The change may reflect the fact that so many more experimentals entered educational and training programs, or it may be due to a tendency of experimentals to model their behavior after the educated treatment staff (Marmor, 1961). That possibility, plus the fact that high scores on Scale 5 are associated with the suppression of juvenile delinquent behavior (Hathaway and Monachesi, 1953), makes it conceivable that even these very limited findings may reflect some movement away from criminality on the part of the experimentals, in contrast to the controls, who gave no evidence of such changes.

Personality-Adjustment Change Ratings

Clinical ratings of MMPI profiles before and after the year of parole were used as the primary measure of personality adjustment for the 116 cases on which all necessary data were available. It was concluded, after professional consultation, that machine-scoring would lose the clinician's apperceptive mass for the rating of each subject; so clinical psychologists who had experience with offenders and were familiar with MMPI profiles for clients of the type included in the project were used for this purpose.

The general procedure was similar to that of the employment-outcome ratings. Pre-release and post-treatment MMPI profiles were superimposed on a chart for each subject. The judges were asked to rate each subject's progress during the year by indicating whether his latest profile represents much better, slightly better, the same, slightly worse, or much worse adjustment than the pre-parole profile. (See Appendix N.) They were instructed to avoid the middle category as much as possible. Their ratings were translated into numerical scores and combined along an eleven-point scale comparable to the recidivism and employment-outcome indexes.

Forty percent of all subjects were judged to have worse adjustment (scores of 0-3), 31% the same (4-6) and 29% better (7-10) at post-treatment. No significant differences were found between controls and experimentals.

The lack of significant differences in personality-adjustment ratings between the various categories of subjects that were analyzed may be due to a major limitation of the adjustment scores. A subject who was rated on the basis of his MMPI profiles as the "same" at the end of the year as he was at the beginning (scores 4-6) may have been either very poorly or very well adjusted or just average at the beginning. One who had been severely maladjusted at the beginning and "better" after a year (scores 7-10) still may have been maladjusted but only to a lesser degree. Similarly, one who had been exceptionally well adjusted on the first test and had moved toward the average would have become "worse" and hence have had a score of 0-3 even if he had remained within the MMPI range of good adjustment. For these reasons, as well as because of their general lack of discriminating power in results, the personality outcome ratings did not prove as helpful as had been hoped. Limitations of the MMPI itself for purposes of measuring results on subjects of this type for a period as short as one year may also be a basic source of the limited usefulness of this measure.

Attitudinal Findings

Various questions included in the terminal follow-up research also are related to personality adjustment. The controls who succeeded on recidivism and on employment were more likely than the experimental successes who received moderate or intensive treatment (E-1s) to say that they would want a job even if they had all the money they needed. Their main reason was to have something to do in order that they "would not get

bored by just sitting around". Control failures were more likely than experimentals to want a job under those hypothetical circumstances in order to make more money.

Three-fourths (73.7%) of all the subjects believed their outlook for the future at the end of the first year on parole looked better than it did the last time they were free in the community, and as Table 3-10 indicates, non-recidivists were more likely to have an optimistic view than recidivists. There was a similar relationship between optimism and employment outcome, but differences were less clear on the personality-change rating. The differences are somewhat more pronounced among the controls than among experimentals; non-recidivist controls were more pessimistic.

TABLE 3-10

OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE AT TIME OF TERMINAL INTERVIEW IN COMPARISON TO PREVIOUS TIME FREE IN THE COMMUNITY

<u>Outlook for Future</u>	<u>Recidivists</u>			<u>Non-Recidivists</u>		
	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Better Now	72.4%	62.6%	67.3%	76.0%	83.4%	78.9%
Same Now	17.2	18.8	18.0	19.5	13.4	17.1
Worse Now	6.9	18.7	13.1	4.3	3.3	3.9
Other or No Response	3.4	0	1.6	0	0	0
Number (100%)	(29)	(32)	(61)	(46)	(30)	(76)

Non-recidivists also were more inclined to consider community conditions as better currently than during the pre-incarceration period. Two-thirds of them (64.5%) compared to just over one-third of the failures (37.7%) had an optimistic interpretation of community conditions, and only 7.9% of the successes compared to 16.4% of the failures viewed community conditions as worse. Those who were successful on parole also were more likely to view themselves as more successful than other parolees, and vice versa. (See Table 3-11.) Similar relationships prevailed in comparisons between the groups on the basis of both the employment-outcome and personality-change indexes.

TABLE 3-11

SELF-ESTIMATE IN TERMINAL INTERVIEW OF COMPARATIVE SUCCESS ON
PAROLE BY RECIDIVISM

<u>Success Compared to Other Parolees</u>	<u>Recidivists</u>			<u>Non-Recidivists</u>		
	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>
More Successful	27.6%	18.8%	23.0%	71.7%	76.7%	73.7%
About Same	31.0	40.6	36.1	15.2	20.0	17.1
Less Successful	41.4	31.3	36.1	8.7	0	5.3
Other or No Response	0	9.4	4.9	4.3	3.3	3.9
Number (100%)	(29)	(32)	(61)	(46)	(30)	(76)

When asked to indicate their most happy experiences during the period since release on parole, more non-recidivists than recidivists reported two or more such experiences. None mentioned success on parole as the most happy experience. Fewer recidivists reported having had no problems (6.6% compared to 13.3% of the non-recidivists) since release; but when they were asked to indicate their biggest problems, a somewhat different distribution emerged. (See Table 3-12.) Problems of work, finances, drinking and drugs, and family relationships were mentioned most often as the biggest problems. Experimentals were more likely than controls to indicate marital, family, or girl friend problems. Perhaps identifying these as problems is partly a function of treatment. Controls were more likely to mention problems with drinking or drugs and difficulties related to parole conditions and their criminal records, but the small number of cases involved makes all such differences statistically insignificant. Changes in attitude or condition of the subject as a result of the problems were claimed by 37.3% of the non-recidivists and 44.2% of the recidivists.

TABLE 3-12

BIGGEST PROBLEM DURING PAROLE BY RECIDIVISM

<u>Problems Indicated</u>	<u>Recidivists</u>			<u>Non-Recidivists</u>		
	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Work-related Difficulties	20.7%	9.4%	14.8%	13.0%	17.2%	14.7%
Drinking, Drugs, etc.	10.3	21.9	16.4	8.7	10.3	9.3
Financial Problems	13.8	6.3	9.8	13.0	13.8	13.3
Social Adjustment	13.8	6.3	9.8	6.5	6.9	6.7
Marital, Family, or Girl Friend Problems	10.3	6.3	8.2	17.4	6.9	13.3
Parole Rules, Criminal Record, etc.	3.4	12.5	8.2	0	0	0
Criminal Behavior	3.4	3.1	3.3	0	3.4	1.3
Education, Training	0	3.1	1.6	2.2	3.4	2.7
Other Problems	0	3.1	1.6	8.7	17.2	12.0
No Problems	3.4	9.4	6.6	10.9	10.3	10.7
No Response	20.7	18.8	19.7	19.6	10.3	16.0
Number of Cases (100%)	(29)	(32)	(61)	(46)	(29)	(75)

Social Relationships

The parolees said the most helpful persons to them were parents, girl friends, wives, social workers, Parole Agents and roommates or friends, followed by an equal number helped by siblings, other relatives, or all others. (See Table 3-13.) Experimentals were more likely to use social workers, undoubtedly because of easy availability through the project. Recidivists were more likely to use parents or girl friends than were non-recidivists, who were most apt to use wives, social workers or Parole Agents when they needed help with problems. Non-recidivists were more likely to say they had been helped by three or more persons than were recidivists.

Marital status was related to recidivism and employment success. The married men who were living with their wives had clearly superior outcomes to those of the single men. Only 9.5% of the married men were recidivists, compared to 44% of the separated and divorced and 56.1% of the single. Differences were not as great among the experimentals, however; so project treatment may have helped to mitigate the detrimental effects of single status (48.5% of the single experimentals were

recidivists compared to 63.6% of the single controls; among the separated and divorced, 40% of the experimentals and 50% of the controls recidivated). Similar patterns emerged on the employment outcome ratings, but personality-adjustment change scores showed less variation although in the same general direction.

TABLE 3-13

PERSON WHO HELPED MOST OF ALL WITH PROBLEMS DURING PAROLE

<u>Type of Person Who Helped</u>	<u>Recidivists</u>			<u>Non-Recidivists</u>			<u>Grand</u>
	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
Mother or Father	24.1%	28.1%	26.2%	6.5%	13.8%	9.3%	16.9%
Girl Friend	17.2	12.5	14.8	10.9	10.3	10.7	12.5
Wife	6.9	6.3	6.6	15.2	17.2	16.0	11.8
Social Worker	10.3	3.1	6.6	13.0	3.4	9.3	8.1
Parole Agent	0	3.1	1.6	2.2	24.1	10.7	6.6
Roommate or Friend	3.4	3.1	3.3	6.5	6.9	6.7	5.1
Sister or Brother	3.4	6.3	4.9	2.2	6.9	4.0	4.4
Other Relatives	6.9	0	3.3	6.5	3.4	5.3	4.4
All Others	6.9	6.3	6.6	2.2	3.4	2.7	4.4
No Response	20.7	31.3	26.2	34.8	10.3	25.3	25.7
Number of Cases (100%)	(29)	(32)	(61)	(46)	(29)	(75)	(136)

As might be expected from the above, when the "most significant woman" in the parolee's life was his wife, he was much more likely to succeed in employment and recidivism than if she was his girl friend. If she was his mother, success was more likely than failure on the Recidivism Index for all except the experimentals. The opposite tended to be true on employment outcome.

The same woman had first been significant to the parolee before his incarceration among more failures than successes on both recidivism and employment. This suggests that maintaining former social relationships with a woman may hinder good social adjustment on parole unless the woman is a wife.

Evidence leading to a similar conclusion comes also from data pertinent to the "best friend". More recidivists (36.1%) than non-recidivists (22.7%) had best friends who were significant to them before

incarceration. Most of this difference is accounted for by the controls (43.8% recidivists and 20.7% non-recidivists, respectively, compared to 27.6% and 23.9% for the experimentals). This finding suggests the possibility that the project helped experimentals to overcome detrimental influences of old friends. The experimentals also were less likely to have as "best friend" persons significant to them before incarceration; 25.3% of them compared to 32.8% of the controls reported best friends who were significant before incarceration. This is indirect evidence that the project may have helped some of them to make new acquaintances and friends.

Recidivists were more likely than non-recidivists to have best friends who had correctional experiences (being on probation, in a corrections institution, or in a treatment center, including facilities for juveniles). Even if all of the non-responding subjects had criminalistic friends, the relationship would still stand. (See Table 3-14.)

TABLE 3-14

CORRECTIONAL EXPERIENCE OF BEST FRIEND BY RECIDIVISM

<u>Did Best Friend Have Correctional Experience?</u>		<u>Recidivists</u>	<u>Non-Recidivists</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	(N=31)	29.5%	17.3%	22.8%
No	(N=54)	27.9	49.3	39.7
No Response	(N=51)	42.6	33.3	37.5
Number of Cases (100%)		(61)	(75)	(136)

Social Participation

Chapin's Social Participation Scale was included in the terminal interview (Chapin, 1955, pp. 275-278; Miller 1964, pp. 208-212). Respondents were asked whether they currently participated in any of eight types of organizations. If so, the name of the organization and the subject's membership status, attendance rate, contributions, committee posts, and leadership positions in it were recorded for key-punching and scoring.

TABLE 3-15

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AT TIME OF FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH BY RECIDIVISM

<u>Type of Organization</u>	<u>Recidivists</u>			<u>Non-Recidivists</u>			<u>Grand Total</u>
	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contrs.</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Religious	5	10	15	11	10	21	36
Sports	3	8	11	6	3	9	20
Alcoholics Anonymous	1	3	4	2	3	5	9
Special Interest Club	3	5	8	0	1	1	9
Social Clubs	1	2	3	2	2	4	7
Veterans Organizations	1	1	2	0	1	1	3
Lodge or Fraternal Order	1	1	2	0	1	1	3
Total Persons Who Participated in One or More Organizations	(11)	(14)	(25)	(19)	(15)	(34)	(59)
Total Persons in Group	(29)	(32)	(61)	(46)	(29)	(75)	(136)
Mean Chapin Social Participation Score	3.4	2.9	3.1	3.2	4.2	3.6	3.4

As with most other populations, there was more participation in churches than in any other single type of organization. (See Table 3-15.) One-fourth (26.5%) of all respondents claimed to attend church or other religious organizations; next to the most popular were sports organization, attended by one-seventh (14.7%). Recidivism failures among the controls were more likely than successes to participate in sports organizations, but the opposite prevailed among experimentals. All in all, no statistically significant differences in total social participation were apparent between the respective categories of subjects.

Mean social participation scores varied from 2.9 for E-1s to 4.6 for E-2s; so the average for all experimentals was 3.3 compared to 3.5 for the controls. (These low scores are typical of lower-class populations.) Recidivists, on the whole, scored lower than non-recidivists, but there was a wide distribution of scores in both categories

of subjects; so differences are not statistically significant. The lowest mean score of all categories of respondents was that of the E-1 recidivists (2.1). This statistically insignificant difference may be primarily a factor of chance alone, but it may indicate the fact that men receiving project services, who had no other formal social participation, were more inclined to fail. If the latter should be true, future services ought to give conscious attention to getting parolees involved in formal social organizations. On the other hand, only 45% of the non-recidivists were participants compared to 41% of the recidivists.

Social relationships of another kind also were related to recidivism. A non-recidivist was somewhat more likely to have lived with parents, a wife, or a wife and children immediately after release than a recidivist, and the latter was more likely to have lived alone. At the time of the follow-up research, the recidivist was more likely to be institutionalized, and, hence, the non-recidivist was much more likely to be satisfied with his current living situation. A similar but not as consistent pattern emerges on employment adjustment in relationship to satisfaction with living arrangements.

PRE-RELEASE FACTORS RELATED TO PAROLE OUTCOMES

Analysis of pre-release data showed certain background factors to be related to successful employment or recidivism outcomes. Some of these have already been mentioned, and others will appear in subsequent sections in the context of relevant discussions.

Vocational Experiences

Parolees who had held full-time jobs before incarceration, especially if they held them a year or more, had higher rates of success on parole than others. Having definite jobs lined up before release and anticipating satisfaction on those promised jobs were both correlated with successful parole outcomes. (Perhaps those who are most likely to become successful are also the men who find it easiest to line up jobs in advance of release.) Men who had shop courses in school prior to incarceration were less likely to succeed on both outcome measures than those who had never had shop courses. (This may reflect the characteristics of pupils who take shop courses in high school more than the content of the education as such.)

Inmates whose chief source of money before incarceration was their parents or guardians were more likely to recidivate than those whose chief source of income was a job or other resources. Those who planned to support themselves by working after release similarly were more likely to succeed on parole.

Institutional Adjustment

Disciplinary experiences in MSRM similarly were related to parole outcomes. The amount of good time lost, the number of misconduct reports received, and the amount of time spent in solitary confinement were directly related to failure (the worse the disciplinary record, the more likely was failure on parole). Further discussion of reformatory experiences in relationship to outcomes appears in the section entitled "Some Unexpected Findings".

Other Background Data

For several years the Protestant and Catholic chaplains of MSRM have been collecting a broad range of background data on a voluntary basis from the inmates assigned respectively to them. It appeared as if some of the information might have predictive value. These records were made available for project research; they covered 132 (47 Catholic and 85 Protestant) of the 164 men in the project. The Catholic chaplain's data were recorded on a large face sheet during an interview; the Protestant's were collected in a lengthy questionnaire each man is asked to fill out shortly after incarceration. (The data of the two chaplains are not comparable; so they cannot be combined for analytical purposes.) Analysis indicates the fact that several items tend to be related to subsequent outcome on parole. Not all of the relationships are statistically significant, for the number of cases in sub-categories is generally small, and not all are amenable to potential use as predictive variables. They may have other implications, however; so they will be briefly summarized here.

Catholic offenders whose parents had given them religious instruction in the home were more likely to succeed on subsequent parole than those whose parents had not. Catholics who claimed to attend church frequently were more likely to succeed on subsequent parole than those who said they attend less than monthly or only irregularly.

Among Protestants, however, those who professed to attend church frequently were more likely to become recidivists than those who attended church monthly or less. The relatively few Protestant inmates who claimed that their correctional experiences had made no difference to or had no effect upon their religion had higher rates of success on parole than those who felt either a greater or a diminished need for or interest in religion as a result of corrections. Those whose parents had either forced or encouraged the subjects to attend church and Sunday school were more likely to be successful on parole than the men whose parents had only suggested such attendance.

Offenders whose fathers had been married only once were more likely to succeed on parole than the men whose fathers had been remarried. The greater the number of younger siblings, the lower the chances of successful parole. (This last finding perhaps reflects social class factors in

patterns of crime as much as family dynamics in and of themselves.) Protestant inmates who were married were, like other married men, more likely than the single to succeed on parole. Their success rates were especially high if they rated their marriages as currently (while in MSRM) excellent, good, or fair, rather than poor. Success was also highly likely if the wife was corresponding with her imprisoned husband, if she visited him in the reformatory, and if he acknowledged that he had marriage problems that needed counseling.

TREATMENT VARIABLES AND OUTCOMES OF EXPERIMENTALS

We have already referred to the fact that 18 of the 82 experimentals received little or no treatment other than routine intake services and, in a few cases, some group therapy sessions. Some were resistant to services, but most of these E-2s were men who had jobs lined up at the time of their release from MSRM and who, it was felt by the project's treatment staff, could, therefore, be permitted to enter the labor market directly. The average rate of unemployment in the Twin Cities during the month of release for these E-2 men was 2.42% compared to 2.74% for the experimentals who received moderate or intensive services. In general, the E-2s tend to have characteristics that rank them between the E-1s and the controls.

The differences between the E-1 and E-2 groups are evident on nearly every treatment variable; many of the differences also are related to recidivism and some to employment success. Table 3-16 summarizes some of the findings with reference to recidivism.

Staff contacts, the composite total rating of follow-up treatment during the first year of parole, and expenditures from the DVR for training, maintenance, and transportation are all strongly related to non-recidivism. MRC expenditures to clients, the estimated value of staff contacts with clients, the number of group-therapy sessions attended, the number of contacts after the twelve-months treatment period ended, and the quality of parole supervision as rated by the respective heads of the DAC and DYC showed no statistically significant relationship to outcomes.

The types of services provided by the treatment staff were classified into group therapy and 22 treatment categories of individual therapy. Compared to the recidivists, non-recidivists received significantly more vocational guidance services, direct help and intervention with persons related to the subjects' training or school, contacts sustaining vocational adjustment, referrals by staff to DVR services, and follow-up treatment after the first twelve months on parole for help with living arrangements, budgeting, money grants, vocational counseling, training, job seeking, employer contacts, sustaining vocational adjustment, personal problems, use of DVR services, and psychiatric treatment at MRC.

TABLE 3-16

TREATMENT VARIABLES IN RELATIONSHIP TO RECIDIVISM BY EXPERIMENTAL GROUP CATEGORIES

Treatment Variable	Recidivists			Non-Recidivists			Grand Total
	E-1	E-2	Total	E-1	E-2	Total	
Mean Grand Total Number of Staff Contacts, Core Treatment Period	25.2	10.1	21.2	45.3	10.9	38.6	32.3
Mean Number of Group Therapy Sessions Attended	7.2	0.8	5.5	6.3	1.5	5.4	5.4
Mean Composite Rating of Total Follow-up Treatment	7.5	4.1	6.6	9.8	3.8	8.7	7.9
Mean Expenditures from DVR for Training	\$10.00	\$0.	\$7.33	\$139.50	\$18.20	\$116.20	\$76.34
Mean Expenditures from DVR for Maintenance	\$81.55	\$22.62	\$65.83	\$224.90	\$6.00	\$182.80	\$140.00
Mean DVR Expenditures for Transportation	\$9.32	\$1.38	\$7.20	\$27.95	\$4.10	\$23.37	\$17.45
Mean MRC Expenditures	\$177.40	\$54.62	\$144.60	\$182.30	\$47.40	\$156.40	\$152.10
Mean Estimated Value of MRC Staff Contacts	\$715.60	\$268.50	\$596.40	\$903.70	\$237.60	\$775.60	\$710.00
Mean Supervisors' Ratings of Parole Agent Quality*	5.8	6.4	6.0	6.3	6.0	6.2	6.1
Number of Cases	(22)	(8)	(30)	(42)	(10)	(52)	(82)

*Parole Agent ratings are based on a 0 (worst) through 10 (best) quality of supervision scale as judged by DAC and DYC administrative staff.

It is clear from these findings that the treatment was profitable for many parolees. Specifically, vocationally related services and financial aid were especially helpful. Sustaining services over a much longer period of time than the first year on parole seems highly desirable although this conclusion can be presented only as a tentative judgment of staff members who worked with clients and were often called upon for assistance long after technical obligations under the project had ended. Longitudinal research to determine the effects of such long term efforts is desirable.

Systematic work evaluation ratings were made only after many experimentals had already gone through the program at MRC (Appendix O); so these data include only 36 (31 E-1s and 5 E-2s) intake ratings and 39 (36 and 3, respectively) work-evaluation ratings at the termination of in-agency services--typically about two weeks later. This was a regular "run of the mill" sample, however; consequently, they should, nevertheless, provide a basis for suggestive generalizations that might be testable in future programs.

The subjects who proved successful on recidivism and employment during their first year on parole received higher work evaluation ratings than the non-successful at the time of intake at MRC on appearance, communications behavior, poise, responsiveness, response to supervision, obedience to shop rules, understanding directions, motivation, responsibility and dependability, industry, and interest in job samples. Slightly higher ratings were received by the successful on physical endurance, temperament, and work tolerance.

Terminal work-evaluation ratings were on different kinds of observations and were not as strongly related to success in employment and to non-recidivism. Slight relationships were found, however, between success and cooperative response to supervision, getting along with others, ability to follow directions, conscientiousness and reliability, quality of work, and consistency of task with abilities. Interest in assigned work and perseverance were not related to recidivism but showed a slight relationship to employment success. The ratings on "industriousness" were not related to either employment or recidivism outcome.

These findings suggest the likelihood that a good work-evaluation rating can predict the employment and recidivism outcomes of parolees with fairly high reliability after only relatively brief intake observations. It should be noted, however, that the regimentation and rigid controls that prevail in correctional institutions may hamper the predictive effectiveness of pre-release work evaluation. Special precautions must be taken to adjust procedures to fit unique conditions in the correctional facility if work evaluation services are replicated.

Men in Training

Perhaps the greatest single achievement of the project was its success in helping experimentals enter and sustain programs of education and vocational training. Only two controls entered such programs—one of them in a special elementary education course and the other in a technical institute. Both of them dropped out after completing only one month of study, and both became recidivists.

In contrast, twenty-two experimentals (27% of the total) began educational programs or training courses. As of the time of the follow-up research, fourteen had either completed their courses or were still enrolled. The eight who dropped out completed an average of one and a half months, with a range from two days to four months of study, in high school or vocational and technical programs.

Six of the experimentals still making progress were enrolled in colleges or universities, and the other eight were in or had completed training for computer programming, jewelry repair, electronics, auto mechanics, barbering, or surveying.



TABLE 3-17

COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN WHO ENTERED TRAINING

Average (Arithmetic Mean) or Percentage for:	Men in Training			All Subjects
	Experimentals		Controls	
	Total	Dropouts		
Age at Release	22.9	23.6	19.5	23.2
Education at Release in Years	11.4	9.1	10.0	10.1
Percent Non-white	18.2%	37.5%	0%	18.3%
Sellin-Wolfgang Index for In- carceration Offense	5.0	3.8	2.0	4.9
California Index of Severity for Incarceration Offense	7.2	6.8	7.0	6.6
Number of Misconduct Reports at MSRM	2.4	2.6	1.5	3.0
Number of Days Good Time Lost at MSRM	9.1	11.6	40.0	11.2
Number of Hours in Solitary at MSRM	25.8	26.4	0	42.7
Months Incarcerated Before Re- lease	33.7	36.9	15.0	27.8
Composite Work Habits Rating at MSRM	17.1	15.9	15.5	14.8
Unemployment Rate for Month of Release	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.6
Primary Employment Outcome Rating	5.7	3.2	2.0	4.5
Percent Failing on Employment (Scores 0-4 on Rating Scale)	25.0%	66.7%	100.0%	44.0%
Percent Married at Terminal Inter- view, including Married and Sep- arated	20.0%	0%	0%	22.0%
Percent Married and Living With Wife at Terminal Interview	15.0%	0%	0%	15.4%
Percent Recidivating in First 12 Months (Scores 0-7 on Recidivism Index)	18.1%	37.5%	100.0%	40.9%
Recidivism Index Score, First 12 Months	8.3	6.9	1.0	6.4
Recidivism Index Score to July 1967	7.5	5.6	1.0	5.6
Technical Violations on Record, First 12 Months	0.3	0.2	1.0	0.5
Misdemeanors on Record, First 12 Months	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.6
Felonies on Record, First 12 Months	0.2	0.4	1.5	0.4
Total Number of Cases*	(22)	(8)	(2)	(164)

*Whenever data are missing, the above averages and percentages are based upon the cases for which data are available.

Table 3-17 summarizes selected characteristics of the men who entered training in comparison to all 164 subjects in the project. The educational level of experimentals who entered training was higher and that of dropouts lower than the average for all subjects. Interestingly, those in training had been committed to MSRM for somewhat more serious offenses and had been incarcerated longer; yet they had a slightly better record of conduct in MSRM than the others. None of the dropouts was married and living with his wife. Dropouts also had a worse record of employment success and recidivism than those who remained in training or had completed it.

Experience with these men indicates the importance of maintaining long-term relationships to sustain them in times of discouragement during their education or training. Twelve months is far too short a period of time to perform this adequately--especially for those in college and other lengthy programs.

COMPARISONS WITH NON-PROJECT PAROLEES

Because of the wide variation in definitions and associated operational procedures used to define recidivism, it is hazardous to compare recidivism rates of men in this project with those of other studies. The fact that all parolees in the project had at least 18 months left on their sentences at the time of their release also makes comparisons difficult. Persons with shorter parole periods may differ in significant ways related to recidivism prognosis. Furthermore, all parolees in the project came to the five-county Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area. These metropolitan offenders generally are believed to have higher recidivism rates than other parolees in the State of Minnesota, but no MDC research has tested this hypothesis. It is clear from the data below that project subjects have many traits ordinarily associated with above-average recidivism rates.

For comparative purposes data-processing cards of the State Department of Corrections were obtained on all offenders released on parole from MSRM during the same period of time as the project. Project subjects were identified and analyzed from those data in comparison to other offenders in order to remove any differences that might appear if data specially gathered on project subjects were compared with data in official files. The following conclusions were reached from this analysis.

At the time of admission to field supervision (release from MSRM to parole) the age range of project subjects was 22 to 36, compared to 21 to 67 for 234 other adult commission offenders; but only 6.1% of the latter were age 36 or over, and the differences between the two groups were not statistically significant. There were more Negroes and fewer American Indians in the project than in the comparison groups (Table 3-18)--a difference that is statistically significant only for Negroes. All of the project subjects were released on parole, but 9.8% of the ACC comparison group were under group parole, parole to detainer, reinstatement to parole, YCC transfers to the ACC, or medical parole supervision.

TABLE 3-18

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS CLASSIFICATION OF RACE BY ADULT AND YOUTH CORRECTIONS COMMISSIONS,
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL PROJECT SUBJECTS, AND COMPARISON GROUPS

Race	Youth Commission		Adult Commission		Both Commissions			
	Expts.	Contrs. Comp.Gp.	Expts.	Contrs. Comp.Gp.	Expts.	Contrs. Comp.Gp.		
<u>By Number of Persons:</u>								
White	37	40	129	28	195	66	68	324
Negro	6	3	5	4	17	11	7	22
American Indian	4	3	15	4	21	4	7	36
Mexican	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
Other	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	(47)	(46)	(150)	(35)	(36)	(82)	(82)	(384)
<u>By Percent:</u>								
White	78.7%	87.0%	86.0%	82.9%	77.8%	80.5%	82.9%	84.4%
Negro	12.8	6.5	3.3	14.3	11.1	13.4	8.5	5.7
American Indian	8.5	6.5	10.0	-	11.1	4.9	8.5	9.4
Mexican	-	-	0.7	2.9	-	1.2	-	0.3
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3

No significant differences were noted between project subjects and the comparison groups on highest occupational class attained, primary and supplementary sources of income for ACC subjects, educational grade level achieved, trade school training, and marital status and dependents, except that more of the ACC comparison group had three or more children.

Significantly more of the ACC comparison group than of project subjects had a "present individual estimated average gross monthly income" at the time of admission to field services of \$200 to \$299, and fewer had \$300 and over. Employment status of the two groups was similar except that 12.7% of the project subjects and only 1.3% of the ACC comparison group were "not employed--in school". Residential arrangements (in terms of with whom the subjects were living) were similar except that more ACC subjects were in institutional settings, work placement, or halfway houses (5.6% ACC project subjects and 15.3% ACC comparison group). Less than half of the ACC comparison group (48.9%) compared to 87.3% of the project subjects were reported as residing in a metropolitan area. Comparable figures for the YCC groups were 91% for project subjects and 42.8% for the other YCC men.

Among the YCC subjects, more of the comparison group (63.4%) than of project subjects (47.2%) lived with parents at the time of admission to field services, but more project clients (22.5% compared to 4.9%) lived independently. Occupational status and skill levels were similar. A higher proportion of project subjects (32%) than of the comparison group (19%) had only one source of support, and more of them depended upon public assistance (11.2% compared to 3.6%), relatives (10.1% versus 2.9%), or "other" (7.9% and .7%) primary sources of support while more of the comparison group depended upon parents (36% compared to 21.3%). Legal guardianship and school dropout status were similar for the two groups.

Data on termination from field services (discontinuation of parole) were obtained from MDC for 69 YCC and 33 ACC project subjects and for 263 and 228 others, respectively. General characteristics of the project and comparison groups were similar on most items to those described above as of the time of admission to field services. Incomes of the ACC project subjects, however, ranged more widely than those of the comparison group. One-fourth (25.7%) of the comparison group but 45.5% of the project members had individual gross incomes of \$49 or less per month, and 24.3% of project subjects and 19.1% of the comparison group had \$400 per month or more. (Incomes are not recorded by MDC for YCC offenders.) The proportion reported as self-supporting had increased in all groups during parole, reaching 74.6% for the project's YCC members, 82.5% for the comparison YCC group, 85.3% for the project's ACC members, and 81.5% for the comparison ACC group. In addition, 10.5% to 13.8% of the respective groups listed "self" as a supplementary source of income. The differences are not statistically significant.

At the time of discontinuation of parole, 47.1% of the project's ACC members, 40.1% of the comparison ACC group, 10.1% of the project's

YCC members, and 15.6% of the comparison YCC group were recorded as having one or more dependent children. Some significant differences in proportions appeared in marital status, as can be seen in Table 3-19. Project YCC members were more likely than the comparison group to be single, and ACC project subjects were more likely to be divorced. These variations may reflect the rural-urban differences of the two groups. (Differences between the wards under the two commissions are primarily a factor of age.)

TABLE 3-19

MARITAL STATUS, DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS TERMINATION
FROM FIELD SERVICES RECORDS

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Youth Commission</u>		<u>Adult Commission</u>	
	<u>Project</u>	<u>Comparisons</u>	<u>Project</u>	<u>Comparisons</u>
Single	82.1%	66.7%	30.3%	40.6%
Married	14.9	25.9	24.2	37.2
Divorced	1.5	2.7	33.3	15.8
Separated	0	1.6	6.0	5.5
Widowed or Unknown	1.5	3.1	6.1	0.9
Number of Cases (100%)	(67)	(255)	(33)	(234)

Significantly more of the ACC comparison group than of ACC project subjects were reported as having had a cooperative attitude toward parole supervision (54.1% and 33.3%, respectively), and fewer were "uncooperative" (20.5% and 39.4%). (The remainder were "indifferent"; comparable data were not collected for YCC parolees.) Significantly more of the project's ACC subjects had three or more supervising agents during their parole (31.2% compared to 16.9%), and fewer had only one (34.4% for project and 46.2% for other ACC clients).

Termination of parole was for similar reasons of discharge and revocation for both groups of ACC clients. Among the youthful offenders, however, significantly more project subjects (55%) than of the comparison group (32.3%) were returned to the institution for rule violations or new delinquency, and more of the comparisons were discharged for satisfactory adjustment (37.6% compared to 27.5% project subjects) or for expiration of sentences (17.5% and 2.9%). The combination of lengthier periods of parole and metropolitan location may partially account for the higher recidivism rates of project subjects. Significantly more project YCC's than the comparison group were receiving intensive parole supervision (19.4% compared to 7.7%) and fewer were getting minimum (3% and 10.9%) parole supervision.

SOME UNEXPECTED FINDINGS

Several puzzling findings emerged in the follow-up research that suggest the need for further research. It is conceivable that all are products of some combination of fortuitous factors, for the total number of persons in most sub-categories analyzed was so small that statistical reliability of differences was established only in a limited number of instances. Other sampling factors may have been partly or wholly responsible, either as a result of chance alone in the selection of subjects for the study or as a corollary of the unique combination of criteria that characterized the universe sampled (parolees from MSRM released to the five-county Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area with paroles of 18 months or more).

Reformatory Experiences

Non-recidivists in both the control and experimental groups served a longer average period of incarceration before release (30.2 months compared to 24.4 for the recidivists; statistical probability equals .0125). This difference suggests many possible interpretations. One is that the longer the period of reformatory treatment, the greater is its wholesome impact upon inmates. Age may be an intervening variable for those who are older upon release, (partly as a result of longer sentences); they are more likely to succeed on parole. Perhaps certain men are released earlier than others in order to make certain that they receive an adequate period of field supervision if there is only a relatively short period of time left on their sentences and if there is some doubt as to whether they can make an adequate adjustment. Length of incarceration showed no relationship at all to success or failure on employment and personality adjustment change ratings; only the recidivism aspect of success and failure was linked with it.

We previously indicated the fact that the number of days good time lost while institutionalized is related to parole success and failure, recidivists having lost much more good time than the successes. An interesting exception, however, is the reversal of this pattern for the E-1s who succeeded on the twelve-months Recidivism Index. The average number of days of good time they lost was 14.1 compared to 12.3 for E-1 failures, 14 for all failures, and 9.2 for all successes. This suggests the possibility that project services were a counterbalancing factor eliminating or neutralizing whatever negative associations were related to the loss of good time. Perhaps the project helped to channel aggressive impulses (if they are involved in loss of good time) into wholesome channels.

Illegal Activities

As indicated earlier, recidivists had an average of 0.716 technical violations on their official MDC records for the first twelve months

following release while non-recidivists had an average of 0.309. This difference is significant at the .00001 level. Expressed another way, 72.2% of the non-recidivists and 37.3% of the recidivists had no technical violations on their official records. Yet when asked in the terminal interview how many technical violations they had committed during the period since release, non-recidivists reported an average of 25.34 and recidivists only 5.42. (The difference is almost significant at the five percent level: $P = .0555$.) It is conceivable that men who succeeded on parole tended to be more honest than the failures, or they may have experienced better rapport with the interviewer and, hence, have been more careful or complete in their reporting to them. They also were free in the community longer and, thus, had more opportunities to violate conditions of parole. On the other hand, the self-confessed as well as officially recorded misdemeanors and felonies tended to follow the expected pattern; recidivists had more offenses during parole, both on their official records and in their self-confessed unreported illegal activities.

For the majority of subjects it was possible to extend observation of the official records of technical violations and other offenses beyond the twelve-months period officially covered by the project. As Table 3-20 indicates, experimentals were more likely to drop to a lower recidivism score than were controls. The twelve-months difference that so clearly favored the experimentals was totally removed; there was no significant difference between the experimental and control groups as of the records that carried them through the month of July, 1967. This suggests the possibility that the relative effectiveness of the comprehensive program of psycho-social vocational services that was provided through this project was effective only as long as there was continuing follow-up to sustain parolees with both tangible aids and socio-psychological supportive services. A lengthier project is necessary to test that hunch. Perhaps the duration of treatment for ex-convicts should not be limited to any predesignated number of months or even years, but instead services should be provided as long as they are needed, even if that should prove to be three, five, ten, or even twenty years. The costs of such services to society might be far less than the costs of criminal behavior (including law enforcement, the judiciary, and correctional services) that they would help to prevent.

TABLE 3-20
LATEST FOLLOW-UP RECIDIVISM OUTCOMES COMPARED TO TWELVE-MONTHS RECIDIVISM SCORES*

Latest (July 1967) Outcomes	Twelve-months Recidivism Outcome					
	Experimentals		Controls		Totals	
	Rec.	Non-Rec.	Rec.	Non-Rec.	Rec.	Non-Rec.
Failures (Recidivism):						
0-4 (Complete Failure)	86.6%	17.3%	83.4%	8.8%	84.8%	13.4%
5-7 (Marginal Failure)	13.3	9.5	16.7	4.4	15.1	7.3
Total Failures	100.0	26.8	100.0	13.2	100.0	20.7
Successes (Non-Recidivism):						
8 (Marginal Success)	0	17.3	0	17.8	0	17.5
9-10 (Success)	0	55.8	0	68.9	0	61.8
Total Successes	0	73.1	0	86.7	0	79.3
Number of Cases (100%)	(30)	(52)	(36)	(45)	(66)	(97)

*Compare results to Table 3-4.

Labor Market Conditions

The high employment rate in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area militated against the most effective testing of a project of this kind. It was exceedingly easy for almost anyone to get work. The average monthly unemployment rates in the four years preceding the project (1961-64) were 4.2, 3.5, 3.6, and 3.4% respectively, but in 1965 they were 2.8% and in 1966 and the first half of 1967 they averaged only 2.2% of the labor force. (The range for the duration of the project was from 3.7% in January and February 1965, to 1.5% in October 1966.) That this influenced the continuation of clients in the receipt of project services may be evident from the average unemployment rate of 2.74% for the month of release for the E-1s and 2.42% for the E-2s, compared to 2.59% for the controls. It is hypothesized that a project of this kind is more appreciated by ex-convicts during periods of high unemployment and that it also will be more effective when unemployment is high than at those times when they can easily find jobs without professional help. They generally seek immediate rather than deferred gratifications, view career planning as a waste of time when a job of any kind is available to them, and frequently jump from one job to another when the labor market permits it.

Other Institutional Data

A number of findings on the questionnaire data collected by the Protestant chaplain on a voluntary basis from all newly arrived inmates were contrary to commonly accepted beliefs. Those who reported that they attended church regularly were not as likely to succeed on recidivism and employment as those who attended periodically. Convicts who professed while in MSRM that they had no current church membership had higher rates of success on parole than those who listed a congregation or denomination. Similarly, inmates who claimed to have attended church twice a month or weekly during the preceding five years were less likely to succeed on parole than those who attended monthly or once a year.

All six inmates who acknowledged on the Protestant chaplain's questionnaire that their fathers had been incarcerated were successes on the Recidivism Index, and three of the four who had employment ratings were successes on employment outcome. Were they determined to overcome the stigma upon their family by succeeding or were they more highly skilled in criminal behavior as a result of socialization or some form of "apprenticeship" that helped to keep them out of the arms of the law while on parole?

Place of Residence

It is commonly believed that residence in an area of high delinquency predisposes ex-convicts to become recidivists. Delinquency rates of the respective census tracts and suburban communities were analyzed

for the place of first residence upon release from MSRM and the most recent residence in the community, usually that as of the date of the terminal interview. No significant relationship was found although the average was 2.8 for the failures and 3 for successes on a scale that ranked from one for the highest one-sixth to six for the lowest one-sixth of the tracts. As Table 3-21 indicates, there was a significant difference between the experimentals and others in this regard; even the successes among them lived in areas of higher delinquency than most others. Part of the reason for this difference is the location of MRC in a high delinquency area and the convenience of housing located nearby for the period during which intensive services were being offered at MRC.

This finding suggests that services to help parolees may be successful even if they are located in high delinquency areas. The findings as well as treatment staff impressions also suggest the possibility that many of the experimentals who failed attempted to maintain a level of living that exceeded their legitimate financial means.

TABLE 3-21

MEAN LEVEL OF DELINQUENCY OF FIRST AND MOST RECENT RESIDENTIAL
AREA BY RECIDIVISM

	<u>Number of Persons</u>	<u>Delinquency Ratings*</u>	
		<u>Recidivists</u>	<u>Non-Recidivists</u>
<u>First Residence:</u>			
Controls	82	3.00	3.69
E-2	18	2.50	3.30
E-1	64	2.50	2.30
Total	164	2.78	3.05
<u>Latest Residence:</u>			
Controls	81	2.60	3.69
E-2	18	3.62	2.80
E-1	64	2.91	2.55
Total	163	2.82	3.10

*Scores range from 1 for residential areas with the highest delinquency rates to 6 for those with the lowest.

QUALIFICATIONS OF FINDINGS

Information on recidivism outcomes was obtained for all 164 subjects, but the data necessary to evaluate employment outcomes and psycho-social adjustment were unavailable for many.

Despite the extraordinary efforts described in Chapter One, it was impossible to locate 27 (16.5%) of the 164 subjects, or to complete the necessary terminal interviews for them. Of the experimentals, 7 (8.5%) were missed, compared to 20 (24.4%) of the controls. Treatment apparently established contacts with the experimentals that made it possible to locate some who otherwise would have succeeded in fading away from subsequent attention. An additional 21 subjects were limited in the time available for follow-up research or were highly uncooperative with reference to the MMPI. It was deemed relatively more important to complete the terminal interviews in such cases; thus, before-after MMPI tests were available for only 116 men. Only one of the 7 non-interviewed experimentals was officially a recidivist, but 5 of the 20 controls were.

TABLE 3-22

RECIDIVISM FOR EXPERIMENTALS AND CONTROLS LOCATED AND NOT LOCATED

<u>Recidivism Outcome Categories</u>	<u>Located</u>		<u>Not Located</u>	
	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contra.</u>	<u>Expts.</u>	<u>Contra.</u>
Failures (0-7)	39%	52%	14%	25%
Successes (8-10)	61	48	86	75

The one-year period of follow-up is exceedingly limited. As suggested by findings from our limited attempts to go beyond this period by getting the most recently available data on recidivism, many parolees who were successful during the first twelve months following release later failed to make a satisfactory adjustment. Others who failed shortly after release were making a successful adjustment some months later following re-incarceration and subsequent release. The longer after initial treatment a follow-up study is made, however, the higher are the costs of locating the subjects of research and the greater the number of intervening influences that also could affect their adjustment. It is far easier to relocate the obvious failures--those who again are convicted for involvement in felonies--than the persons who have successfully lost their identity as ex-convicts and are living lives similar to those of "normal" citizens.

Several intervening variables very likely contaminated the evaluative research of this project. The high level of employment in the Minneapolis-St. Paul labor market during the project made it easy for anyone with even "minimal" employment skills to find work. The compulsory nature of the project, with its special condition added to regular parole regulations and rules necessitating the cooperation of experimental clients meant that many, initially, were sullen antagonists to the treatment staff and very likely were helped less than would be the case of "volunteers" for similar services. The arbitrary assignment of parolees to the experimental and control groups meant that many persons unlikely to profit from project services became experimentals and that others highly amenable to them could not receive them.

Limitations of the basic instruments used to compare the outcomes of experimental and control subjects have been described earlier in this chapter. The tenuous and non-objective status of those whose personality-adjustment-change rating is the same, worse, or better may be a major cause of the failure of that measure to reveal consistently any important differences. Its correlation with the employment outcome rating is very low ($r = +.1915$, S.E. = .0894), and there is no correlation whatsoever between it and the Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Outcome Index ($r = +.0125$, S.E. = .0928). The employment outcome ratings are significantly correlated with Recidivism Index scores, however ($r = +.6456$, S.E. = .0498). Yet, part of the reason for this could be the contaminating influence of re-institutionalization among recidivists who cannot be successful in employment when returned to prison.

A final set of limitations pertains to the basic research design. It involved random assignment of subjects released from MSRM to either an experimental group that was to receive treatment or a control group that was to receive only ordinary parole services. Nevertheless, members of the control group were subjected to a research and testing program just before release from MSRM and following their first year on parole. This conceivably could have produced some changes not present among non-tested parolees.

A greater problem, however, was the inability of project staff to insist that all experimentals receive equivalent services. As has been indicated earlier, those who had appropriate jobs awaiting them, who lived at such a distance from MRC that commuting to receive its services would be a hardship, or who failed to participate for certain other "valid" reasons, were not compelled to participate or else to suffer the penalty of having their paroles revoked. This was a result of giving treatment objectives of the project priority over its research design.

It was impossible to maintain precisely the same levels and types of treatment throughout the project, partly by design and partly by the normal incidents typical of any agency program. (See Chapter Two.) Because the staff grew in sophistication and wisdom in dealing with ex-convicts, who initially were a new type of client for rehabilitation services, there were gradual modifications in their relationships with

clients, records, and other procedures. Even more significant, there were changes in personnel. As a result, parolees who entered treatment late in the project may have received somewhat better, or at least, different therapy from that received by those who were among the first to be assigned to it. While these modifications spoiled the purity of the research design, they operated to make project conditions much more typical of treatment programs and agencies; staff-development and turnover are common phenomena that are unavoidable over any period of time as long as this project.

AN EVALUATION SURVEY

In July, 1967, a three-page evaluation questionnaire with both open- and closed-end questions was mailed, together with a return envelope addressed to the Project Research Analyst's home, to 112 persons who were believed to have significant knowledge pertinent to the project. These included all 59 Parole Agents known to have had one or more experimental or control subjects in the project, key personnel at MSRM, members of the ACC and YCC, other persons in MDC, and key members of DVR. Sixty-five (58%) of the questionnaires were returned; 33 of these were from Parole Agents or former Parole Agents who had project subjects, and 32 were from others. (Many questions were designed only for persons who had considerable knowledge of or experience with the project; so the responses to many items total less than 65.)

TABLE 3-23

"HOW MUCH HAVE YOU EVER HEARD ABOUT THE CORRECTIONS VOCATIONAL SERVICES PROJECT (RD-1551) AT THE MINNEAPOLIS REHABILITATION CENTER BEFORE GETTING THIS LETTER?"

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Project Pa- role Agents</u>	<u>All Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Much	39.4%	28.1%	33.8%
Some	33.3	15.6	24.6
Very Little	9.1	25.0	16.9
Nothing at All	18.2	31.3	24.6
Persons Responding (100%)	(33)	(32)	(65)

Table 3-23 reveals the fact that over one-fourth of the responding Parole Agents who had supervised project subjects and over one-half of the others professed to have heard little or nothing about the project. This deficiency may have resulted from the rapid turnover of Parole Agents during the project and the failure to establish a regular method for informing new agents about it. Some may have had poor memories, forgetting the orientation to the project that took place for 35 Parole Agents on December 23, 1964. Despite the questionnaire's use of several terms to refer to the project, a few may also have failed to recognize it as the source of the Quarterly Illegal Activities Report forms and other materials they had received periodically during the project's duration. Of the 27 agents who answered all parts of the questionnaire, 11.1% felt their personal orientation to the project was poor; 33.3% felt it was fair; 25.9% good; and 14.8% excellent.

TABLE 3-24

OPINIONS ON EFFECTS OF THE PROJECT ON THE MAJORITY OF SUBJECTS

	<u>Effects on Experimentals</u>			<u>Effects on Controls</u>		
	<u>Parole Agents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Parole Agents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Helped Them Very Much	11.1%	0%	6.1%	0%	0%	0%
Helped Them Some	51.9	59.1	55.1	25.9	9.1	18.4
Neither Helped nor Harmed	22.2	0	12.2	51.9	40.9	46.9
Harmed Them Some	0	4.5	2.0	0	0	0
Harmed Them Very Much	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't Know; No Response	14.8	36.4	24.4	22.2	50.0	34.7
Total Responses (100%)	(27)	(22)	(49)	(27)	(22)	(49)

Opinions about the effects of the project on the majority of the subjects were generally favorable. (See Table 3-24.) Parole Agents, especially, felt that the project had done good for the experimentals. Almost two-thirds of the agents (62.9%) had received much or some feedback on the project from parolees; another one-third (33.3%) said they had received "little" feedback, but none replied "none". The feedback reported was "mostly favorable" by 40.7%, "mostly unfavorable" by 3.7%, and "mixed" by 48.1%, with 7.4% non-response from 27 agents.

On a checklist of 8 alternatives, including "Other (explain)", pertinent to the basic purpose of the project, 85.2% of the Parole Agents and 68.2% of the others identified the correct response ("To see if supplementary psychological, social, and vocational services

can help parolees"). The most commonly checked incorrect answers had to do with transferring responsibilities for parolees from MDC to DVR (4.1% of all respondents), dealing with physical handicaps of parolees (2%), and providing referral services and other resources for Parole Agents (2%). (No response was given by 3.7% of the Parole Agents and by 27.3% of the others.)

Eighty-five percent of the Parole Agents never felt exposed to actual or potential criticism, threats, or other discomfort by the project, compared to 31.8% of the other respondents, 13.6% of whom felt threatened often or sometimes (45.5% gave no response). One-third of the agents said the project caused them some extra work; but 37% said it made no difference, 18.5% felt it saved some or much work, and none said that it caused much extra work. None felt that the ease of transferring parolees to other agents had been affected either adversely or positively by the project.

The agents generally felt that they worked no more nor less with either experimentals and controls than with other parolees under their supervision. Their comparative inclination to recommend revocation of subjects who violated technical parole rules also was claimed to be no different for the controls and experimentals, except for 7.4% who said they were "somewhat less" apt to recommend revocation for experimentals.

The overall rating of services provided to parolees through the project was favorable by the majority of respondents. (See Table 3-25.) If, however, non-response is considered a sign of disapproval, one-seventh of the agents and two-fifths of the others lacked a favorable reaction.

TABLE 3-25
OVERALL RATING OF PROJECT SERVICES

<u>Response Categories</u>	<u>Parole Agents</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Entirely Favorable	7.4%	22.7%	14.3%
Mostly Favorable	51.9	27.3	40.8
Mixed Favorable and Unfavorable	25.9	9.1	18.4
Mostly Unfavorable	3.7	4.5	4.1
Entirely Unfavorable	0	0	0
No Response	11.1	36.4	22.4
Total Responses (100%)	(27)	(22)	(49)

Evaluative Comments

Nineteen Parole Agents and 15 others gave one or more suggestions in seven open-end questions at the end of the questionnaire. Some of these were critical of project services and others laudatory; some suggested enlargement and extension of the services while others felt that some of the psychological and vocational testing had been excessive and could be eliminated from future related programs.

Some of the most frequently mentioned suggestions were the following:

- Communication and coordination between rehabilitation programs and Parole Agents should be improved.
- Rehabilitation services should be extended to carefully screened parolees rather than to a cross-section of all. None should be forced to participate.
- Forcing help on those not really wanting it and withholding help where requested and needed was quite harmful (even though required for the project).
- Job placement services and follow-up are desirable.
- Vocational and psycho-social counseling services should be extended.
- Excessive psychological testing should be eliminated.
- Residential requirements for clients should be removed.
- Ex-convicts and parolees should be moved into treatment with other clients and not handled as a distinct group.
- Referral services of DVR and/or MRC should be continued for the benefit of present and future parolees.
- Financial allowances for clients to get counseling services, vocational training, a college education, work evaluation, or subsistence under specified conditions should be available from DVR.
- The program should be expanded to include additional correctional institutions.
- Halfway houses and sheltered workshop facilities could combine many of the project services with regular parole supervision.

Had these and other pertinent suggestions been incorporated into a checklist to discover the degree of agreement and disagreement of all respondents, some of them might have been endorsed by nearly all who were familiar with the project, and others might have been rejected by the majority. The general feeling-tone conveyed by the majority of the responses, however, is typified by these examples:

"Any project that offers this much support to people is worthwhile. It cannot be evaluated in terms of statistical worth."

"I felt that the staff of the Rehab Center were extremely cooperative and that communication between the Parole Agent and your Center was better than any other in my experience."

"I believe that this project was one of the most significant of any of which I have been aware in my years in corrections."

Staff members at MSRM who observed the results of the random process of assigning men to the experimental and control groups felt that the experimentals included many more of the types of persons who become recidivists. Treatment staff saw such persons as a challenge and worked especially hard to gain and maintain their interest in project services and to lead them through a program of rehabilitation. Many "persons certain to recidivate" were helped to succeed as a result. (Such parolees are recalled more readily than the subjects who are believed to be easily rehabilitated but, in fact, fail; so this is not absolute indication of the project's success.)

Deliberate attempts to control the biasing influence of "self-fulfilling prophecies" of failure or success were built into the treatment program in order to prevent staff members from dealing with clients in such manner that those "pre-designated" for failure or success would experience the predicted outcomes. These efforts included the refusal to prognosticate outcomes; so results of the project cannot be tested in terms of results in relationship to predictions of success or failure. Nevertheless, data subsequently collected in the project suggest the possibly predictive value of many background experiences and characteristics. Several of these have been mentioned in the presentation above.

INDIRECT RESULTS

In addition to the services provided parolees through the project, the accompanying research to test their effectiveness, and other results reported earlier in this chapter, the project contributed to several important side benefits.

The multi-agency participation in the project necessitated the development of working agreements by all agencies involved. (See Appendix B.) These agreements evolved during the early stages of planning, client selection and treatment and were found to be adequate to the purposes of this project. They can be used as guidelines for similar inter-agency service patterns elsewhere.

The project was initiated during the period of time when VRA was beginning to assume an ever increasing interest in the corrections client. Since this was among the first projects of its kind and, to staff knowledge, the only experimental corrections design then funded by VRA, MRC has received and answered numerous requests for information about the administration of such services. In addition, a number of persons from various parts of the nation have visited with staff in order to learn from project experience.

An article based on the project has already appeared in Rehabilitation Record, under the title "Profile of the Parolee" (Ericson and Moberg, 1967.) Other publications are planned.

Project staff have had the opportunity of contributing to the general community by lecturing in the University of Minnesota Juvenile Officers Institute on three occasions and in the Minneapolis Police Recruit Training School twice. The facilities and project staff of MRC were utilized for nine monthly sessions during an in-service training program of the Minnesota DYC.

The general problems of parolees have received some additional visibility as a result of local newspaper, television, and radio coverage of project activities and findings, as well as through the vehicle of numerous public appearances of staff members before professional, lay, and citizen action groups.

The project has accumulated considerable data pertinent to potential research on a variety of issues relative to the rehabilitation of offenders. (See the section on "Additional Research" in Chapter Four, page 127.) Much additional experimentation and research are necessary in order to determine the exact nature of intervention that is necessary to rehabilitate various types of offenders.

Perhaps most satisfying has been the opportunity to participate in the development of increased DVR services for corrections clients. The assignment of a full-time DVR vocational counselor to the State Reformatory for Men, at St. Cloud, was, in part, a result of discussions that were stimulated by the participating agency personnel who were involved in this project. Additional assignments of DVR personnel to other Corrections facilities were pending at the termination of this project.

Because this was the first project of its kind at MRC, it necessitated the development of agency policies on publications and on data storage and accessibility. In the process of development of such a policy, it was discovered that most agencies do not have written statements on these subjects. Due to the ever increasing involvement of agencies in research and demonstration and the need to communicate findings adequately, the policies that have evolved may assist others who are confronted with similar issues.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

This chapter has, first of all, described three basic outcome measures used to evaluate results: a Recidivism Outcome Index, an Employment Outcome Rating and a rating of Personality Adjustment Change.

Experimentals who received little or no treatment (E-2s) had outcomes similar to the controls, but the other experimentals (E-1s) tended to be somewhat more successful at the end of the first year on parole on both the employment and recidivism measures but not on personality adjustment change.

One of the most significant outcomes of treatment was the fact that 22 experimentals, compared to only two controls, entered programs of training or education. Of these, eight experimentals and both controls had dropped out of training before completion of their studies, but the majority of the experimentals thus helped by DVR funds already were highly successful by the end of this project or gave promise of becoming contributing members of society in the near future. Six were college or university students.

The parolees in the project were not typical of parolees from MSRM because of their longer periods of parole (18 months or more) and their release to the Twin Cities metropolitan area. They included significantly more Negroes and slightly fewer American Indians than the general average, and they were less likely to be married. All of these factors may help to explain the apparently higher recidivism rates for both experimental and control project subjects than for other MSRM parolees.

The tendency of experimentals to lose their superior position with respect to recidivism after the twelve month measure suggests the importance of continuing services to parolees over a much longer period of time following release than the one-year treatment under this project. The assignment of men to vocational rehabilitation and other psychosocial services on a more nearly voluntary basis and on the basis of research findings predicting amenability to treatment might also increase success rates, as would the use of good work-evaluation and vocational counseling-services, preferably offered at the beginning of the correctional process. Had unemployment been a greater problem in the general labor market, the relative success of experimentals might have been greater.

An evaluation survey of Parole Agents and other key persons in DVR and MDC who were at least somewhat familiar with the project revealed attitudes that were generally favorable to the services it provided parolees. Their suggestions, together with other implications growing out of project experience, can be a very fruitful source of creative innovations in Minnesota and other states. The fact that many changes in both major state agencies related to the project have already occurred, fully or in part, as a result of project influences, demonstrates the practicality of innovative changes to help rehabilitate parolees within the framework of existing agencies and institutions.

CHAPTER FOUR

RECOMMENDATIONS

The high cost of the criminal justice system (law enforcement, courts and corrections), together with its relative inability to deal effectively with many offenders, makes it imperative that programs to rehabilitate offenders build on the experiences of programs like the one reported here. The recommendations below are not listed in any particular order of priority nor is any relative weight attached to those beyond the first. (The numbers are for convenience of discussion only.) All can be supported by clinical observations or statistical analyses of research data.* Although some of these recommendations are held more firmly than others, the authors of this report believe that even the most tenuous are worthy of further experimentation and evaluation.

1. The most important implication of this project is that certain parolees do benefit from comprehensive psycho-social-vocational services following their release from incarceration. The problem associated with this implication is how to develop a formula and operating procedures to identify those men who can be expected to profit from such services in the future. Project experience and research throw some light on this question of amenability, but for a variety of reasons, it is not possible unequivocally to specify an exact formula to be applied in future selection. Additional analyses should be undertaken, giving special emphasis upon those which can be tested in future programs. (AB)

2. The following background factors were positively related to success on parole. They are not listed in any order of actual or assumed importance; the differences among them were so slight as to make any ranking unreliable. They were discussed in detail in Chapter Three. (A)

*The following numbered recommendations are based primarily upon statistical analyses of research data: 2, 17, 20, 24. These are coded "(A)" after the item.

The following are based primarily upon clinical observations during the course of this research project: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27. These are coded "(B)" after the item.

The following are based upon both statistical analyses of research data and clinical observations by project research staff: 1, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. These are coded "(AB)".

- (a) Job History. Men who held a full-time job before incarceration were more successful than those who had never held one.
- (b) Education. A high level of education prior to release was especially predictive of sustained interest in training programs and also of general parole adjustment. The more education, the more likely was success.
- (c) Institutional Adjustment. High work habits ratings at MSRM were positively related to parole adjustment, and men with better disciplinary records were also more likely to succeed. Both were characteristic of the experimentals who entered training and did not drop out of it. Likewise, the non-dropouts among experimentals in training were in the lowest good-time-lost category. (It is interesting, however, that the good-time-lost was higher for the men who succeeded in parole among those who received significant MRC treatment than among those who failed. This lends weight to the conclusion discussed below that the extent of treatment makes a greater difference between success and failure than background "predictive" characteristics.)
- (d) Relationships With Wives While Incarcerated. Married men whose wives visited and corresponded with their husbands in prison fared better on parole than those whose wives did not visit and correspond.

3. As a result of this project and numerous other experiences in Minnesota and elsewhere, criminal offenders have become firmly established as legitimate clients of vocational rehabilitation services. Even greater efforts should be made to expand vocationally oriented services to correctional clients. (B)

4. Although very complex problems often are associated with inter-agency cooperation, this project adds to the list of successful ventures. Because the agencies involved established working agreements prior to their work with clients, there were few problems. (See Appendix B.) Similar working agreements should clearly be understood by all parties in inter-agency programs in order to avoid unnecessary conflicts and delays of services. (B)

5. Private rehabilitation facilities can play a significant role in the rehabilitation of offenders, especially during the re-entry phase of corrections. This experiment suggests that services of private rehabilitation facilities could be extended beneficially to selected parolees on work and training releases as well as on parole. (B)

6. State rehabilitation agencies have, if the experience in this project is reliable, the potential capacity to provide services to offenders both within and outside correctional institutions. Such agencies should upgrade their efforts in this regard. (B)

7. Correctional institutions generally do not provide adequate vocational counseling nor sufficient numbers of alternative training opportunities, and all too often the training which does exist is inadequate.

Departments of corrections should seek out the resources of state rehabilitation agencies or provide within their own budgets the wherewithal for comprehensive vocational counseling and training. Unless correctional agencies upgrade such services, they will continue to turn out ex-inmates, the majority of whom are unable to compete in the increasingly sophisticated employment market. Their programs and equipment should compare favorably with those of the best vocational schools outside the correctional system. They should upgrade career planning activities in advance of release, expand work and training release programs, use sophisticated work evaluation procedures, and experiment with additional means of preparing inmates for competitive employment. (B)

8. The offender population is exceedingly difficult and the prognosis for success is minimal compared to many traditional rehabilitation clients. This fact alone makes it absolutely necessary for the rehabilitation community to pursue new techniques aggressively, hopefully leading thus to increasing success. Agencies attempting to utilize vocational rehabilitation techniques for offenders must be cognizant of the realities involved in such efforts. (B)

9. It is necessary that the treatment staff have control over the content of rehabilitation services as well as over their timing and length. Such an approach insures a greater possibility of imaginative programming based on the needs, vulnerability, and resistance to services of each client. (B)

10. Project experience does not conclusively support the validity of team services for offenders simply because the effect of such services per se could not be measured. It is the impression of staff members who worked as a part of the team in this project that team treatment has many virtues, especially if there is no insistence upon closely adhering to narrow professional boundaries. Such insistence degrades clients by carving them into parts to be served, so to speak, instead of dealing with them with the respect that should be given to whole persons. (B)

11. When receiving services like those of this project, the parolee is exposed to numerous persons assigned to help him. This makes it necessary for him to relate to many people, each of whom has his unique pattern of likes and dislikes, techniques of working with clients, methods of assessing the client and of extending help. It therefore appears advisable in team services to assign each parolee to one specific staff member with whom he can establish rapport and to have other staff recognize and support that relationship. (B)

12. Problems of staff turnover must be faced realistically. Parole agents, counselors, and others who work with parolees change positions frequently. This makes it necessary both to orient the client to new personnel and to orient new personnel to their clients. (AB)

13. The attitudes of rehabilitation personnel toward the client may be a major factor in the success or failure of the client. If a staff member feels frustrated and thinks even his best efforts will be in vain, his pessimistic attitudes may spill over to the client and become, in effect, part of a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. Training programs for vocational counselors and others (whether academic or in-service) should be modified to include units which relate specifically to the unique characteristics of offenders and their subculture. Without such orientation, vocational counselors, social workers, psychologists, and vocational evaluators who have had little exposure to offenders are likely to be overwhelmed by their characteristic resistance and frequent failing. (B)

14. Most parolees in this project were deprived of normal jobs and social experiences during their incarceration. Corrections should consider modifying institutional experience in the direction of making it more closely approximate life in free society. This includes adding competition for assignments, reasonable adequate salaries, personal responsibility for room and board, and similar features like the world to which nearly all offenders ultimately will return. (AB)

15. Previous positive vocational experiences were related to success. This suggests that the community should provide a high quality of vocational services to those who first come into contact with the criminal justice system at an early age. Such services should be a major part of probation and institutional programs for juvenile delinquents. Controlled experimentation is possible because very few programs for juveniles have such services on a sophisticated level at the present time. (AB)

16. The requirement that an inmate have a specific job lined up prior to release should be dropped in favor of more adequate vocational counseling and guidance immediately before and upon release. Social services and vocational counseling resources also should be made available to parolees for as many years as necessary following their release from correctional institutions. (AB)

17. Vocational evaluation ratings utilizing actual work samples in the MRC shop were predictive of both recidivism and employment outcomes. It would seem, on the basis of this finding, that vocational evaluation techniques should be employed on a large scale throughout the correctional system. With experience, such techniques could be made even more effective than was the case in this first venture. (A)

18. It is well known that parolees find it extremely difficult to integrate successfully the myriad of new roles and responsibilities with which they are confronted upon first leaving the institution. Understanding this and setting realistic, attainable goals is crucial during the egress period. Withholding such services as training because the parolee is not doing well in some other area of his total functioning may be the crowning blow in cases that otherwise might have been successful. (B)

19. Social relationships, especially marriage, were an important factor related to the success and failure of project subjects. Correctional institution programs should give considerably more attention to maintaining and improving familial relationships. Programs following release, regardless of their particular focus, should provide ample services for improving the social

relationships of parolees. Since the experimentals in this project were relatively more successful on recidivism rates than on employment outcomes, something more than simply finding the right job for the right man must have occurred. This "something more" would seem to be the treatment effort which related itself to the man's total social and psychological functioning, not only to employment. (AB)

20. The season of release may be related to success or failure on parole. It would be well for releasing authorities to consider paroling most offenders during those months when work is most plentiful even though this presents obvious difficulties. (In Minnesota this would not include the winter months.) In other words, such variables as season and labor market trends may be much more important to success than arbitrary sentencing and parole review dates determined simply by lapse of time since imprisonment. (A)

21. Few parolees are prepared to meet even their most basic material needs in the days and weeks immediately following their release. Their lack of clothing, spending money, basic household provisions, an automobile and so forth may almost totally counteract their treatment in the institution or during the period immediately following their release. Work release programs and furloughs of one kind or another should be increasingly utilized to provide a more gradual transition to freedom and to prepare the releasee more adequately for the rigors of life "on the street". (B)

22. Compulsory assignment to treatment, while no doubt detrimental and unnecessary to some men in this project, seems necessary and appropriate for the majority of offenders because most of them do not request available services. (B)

23. Some parolees who appeared unamenable to services succeeded. Since offenders' initial responses to rehabilitation are not dependable indicators of success or failure, and since we do not at this writing have a reliable prediction formula, vocational rehabilitation agencies must be willing to commit resources to persons who may fail. A parolee's past pattern of behavior should not be the deciding factor in determining whether or not to extend services to him. (All of the clients of this project had past histories which predicted non-amenability to rehabilitation services.) The persons predicted to be the most likely to recidivate stand in greatest need of comprehensive psycho-social-vocational services. (AB)

24. The amount of treatment was related to outcome: the more the treatment, the less the recidivism. Agencies planning to provide services to offenders should be willing to commit substantial amounts of money to such programs. Minimal expenditures are likely to result in only minimal results. (A)

25. Numerous explicit and implicit conclusions about treatment of the offender are evident in the foregoing report. The "treatment point of view" summarized on pages 33 to 38 appears to have been validated by the experiences of the project and deserves further testing in other programs to rehabilitate parolees. (B)

26. Many offenders verbalize a willingness to use available help. Even though their desire competes with anti-social feelings, treatment personnel should act as if each offender means what he says when he speaks positively. The very slightest evidence that the offender may succeed, even if it consists only of verbalizations, should be taken as a basis for serious efforts in the hope of rehabilitating him. (B)

27. Long-term goals for parolees are poorly understood and seldom made explicit. It is necessary to clarify goals and to provide a series of short-term easily defined goals for each client during the rehabilitation process in order to provide both a general direction and immediate gratifications for the parolee who is striving toward pro-social ends. (B)

28. Environmental supports are very important and should be a concern of all treatment personnel serving parolees regardless of the particular nature or focus of their services. Social services are therefore imperative in any attempt to provide vocational rehabilitation for offenders. The idea that occupational adjustment is crucial to the adjustment of the parolee is not diminished by this conclusion. If it is assumed that "the whole man" is the focus of treatment, other aspects of each parolee's functioning must be accepted as equally important to his vocational success. (AB)

29. Vocational assistance may not seem important during the early phases of such help. Average wages may be no more than might be expected without such help. (In fact, they at first averaged lower for the experimentals in this project, mainly because many of them were in training programs and holding only part-time jobs.) Services of the kind provided in this project are expected to have long-term effects if follow-up is adequate. No one initiating similar services should expect immediate and dramatic results. (AB)

30. Project findings and staff impressions strongly suggest that treatment should not have been discontinued at the end of twelve months. Future programs of this type should provide services over a long period of time, and it should be possible for these services to be initiated or reinstated easily and without hesitation or embarrassment at any point in time. (AB)

31. This project could have put more men into training programs had the staff fully realized the potential of such efforts. Future experiments should risk expending money for training even for offenders who look relatively unamenable to training programs. (AB)

32. Some undetected illegal behavior will occur even on the part of parolees who look "successful" over a period of time. Illicit behavior is not necessarily an indication of the client's unwillingness to pursue pro-social ends; it is simply a result of his anti-social nature "winning a round" or sometimes of his being apprehended for offenses common among "law-abiding citizens". Such experience should be viewed as a relapse but not as an indication that rehabilitation is hopeless. People who plan to work in this way with offenders should not expect perfection in relation to illegal behavior. (AB)

33. Insufficient time was available in this project to analyze all of the important data and experiences adequately. This project measured its basic results after only one year of treatment and included only a relatively minimum evaluation of recidivism after the end of the basic first-year research. The below listed questions are suggested by project data and experience as having potential for future research. They are not listed in any order of priority. (AB)

- (a) What are the long-range effects of the services in the project reported here?
- (b) What is the impact of staff turnover on treatment effectiveness?
- (c) How does season of release affect parole adjustment?
- (d) What more can be learned about the role of significant others in the rehabilitation process?
- (e) Would the application of comprehensive psycho-social vocational rehabilitation services to older juvenile delinquents prevent criminal careers?
- (f) What is the nature of innovations which would make the egress process from correctional institutions less sudden?
- (g) Would modifications of institutional programs in the direction of making them more closely approximate life in free society be more effective than present approaches?
- (h) What would be the effect of viewing the return to custody as a function of treatment rather than a failure of treatment?
- (i) What would be the effect of sophisticated vocational evaluation and assignment of inmates in correctional institutions?
- (j) What part does "pride" have as a function in the offender's inability to accept assistance? How can the negative aspects of "help" be de-emphasized?
- (k) What are the relative negative and positive effects of special conditions requiring cooperation with treatment?
- (l) What is the "social profit" of programs which build on the conclusions of the experiment reported here?
- (m) Is there a differential opportunity to commit crime inherent in various employment situations?
- (n) What are the factors involved in the tendency of parolees not to sustain their early commitment to pro-social behavior?

- (o) In what specific ways does employment adjustment for parolees affect overall adjustment?
- (p) What is the exact nature of the sociological problems which affect the offenders' ability to benefit from rehabilitation services?
- (q) Are particular assignments in correctional institutions predictive of parole adjustment?
- (r) In what ways and for whom do rehabilitation services as we now know them increase vulnerability to recidivate?
- (s) How would long-term rehabilitation programs (more than twelve months) affect the adjustment of parolees?
- (t) In what ways can the bureaucratic impediments to more flexible services be modified?
- (u) Can direct money loans to parolees be effectively utilized on a larger scale than is currently practical?
- (v) In what ways do project data contribute to the development of a typology of offenders?

SUMMARY

This research and demonstration project has tested the contributions of comprehensive social, psychological and vocational rehabilitation services to the reduction of recidivism rates, the enhancement of vocational stability and occupational levels, and the personal adjustment of parolees from the Minnesota State Reformatory for Men. Covering a period of more than three years (October 1964 through December 1967), it involved the cooperation of private and public agencies and the coordination of correctional and vocational rehabilitation services for ex-convicts.

The project centered around an experimental design in which offenders released to the Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Area with parole sentences of eighteen months or more were randomly assigned to either a control group that received only normal parole services or an experimental group that also received the comprehensive services of this project during the first year following release. There were 82 persons in each group, all of whom were studied for before-after research comparisons.

Experimentals were given the services of a Social Worker, Vocational Counselor, Vocational Evaluator, and Clinical Psychologist besides referral opportunities to consult with a physician, a psychiatrist, and other professional personnel as needed. Part-time research personnel were also employed. Both the treatment and research aspects of the project were directed by the Project Coordinator/Principal Investigator, who in turn was responsible to the administration of the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center where most services for experimentals were provided.

Services to experimental subjects were adapted to fit the unique configuration of each individual's needs. It was found that certain "reality problems" emerged repeatedly among them. These included the lack of respectable clothing and housekeeping necessities (towels, sheets, blankets, radio, clock, cooking utensils, etc.), a pervasive desire to celebrate release from prison, the struggle of understanding the Parole Agent and relating to him, family adjustment difficulties, financial debts and other obligations acquired prior to institutionalization, a lack of opportunities for establishing relationships with non-criminal people, internalized hostilities, adjusting to community living after months or years of institutional regimentation, feelings of shame and guilt with reference to family and friends, and a lack of self-worth related to down-grading societal definitions of their status.

Treatment strategy evolved together with a philosophy of services that recognized both the common problems of all parolees and their unique individual configurations. The primary goal of project services was to enhance pro-social opportunities and provide a career plan as an alternative to antisocial behavior. This necessitated comprehensive efforts by persons from several helping professions.

The chief innovations of the project, from the perspective of traditional correctional practices, were its comprehensive inter-disciplinary-team nature, the emphasis on vocational adjustment as a primary means to total life adjustment, the sophistication of the vocational evaluation process, the commitment to seeking education and training for high-risk clients, the provision of immediate comprehensive post-release services to all experimental parolees rather than only to selected clients, the availability of direct financial assistance during the immediate post-release period, and the use of an experimental design to compare outcomes of treated parolees with those of offenders receiving only normal parole supervision.

Treatment efforts related chiefly to the practical demands of living (housing, budgeting, money grants, decision-making, etc.), vocational preparation, placement, and adjustment, personal problems, secondary clients (spouse, parents, siblings, other relatives, friends, roommates), and relationships with community resources. Intake services began prior to release from the Reformatory through a visit by the project Social Worker and continued at the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center the day after release. After approximately a week of interviews, vocational evaluation, and other services, the treatment team held a diagnostic conference to discuss each experimental subject's assets and liabilities, to plan his program of project services, and to begin long-range planning. Vocational evaluation and counseling, social services (both casework and group work), and clinical psychological testing were then used to clarify details of each client's actual and potential functioning to help him enter educational institutions, training programs, or employment, and to develop and sustain his commitment to successful adjustment as a citizen in the community.

An average of 32.27 therapeutic sessions, besides other less intensive meetings with staff members, were held with each parolee during the treatment year. While treatment officially lasted twelve months, clients had an average of 3.4 staff contacts beyond the one year anniversary of their release on parole. Average direct expenditures per experimental client were \$152.10 for living expenses plus small personal loans for emergencies from the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center. The State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation expenditures per client were \$76.34 for educational and training programs, \$140 for maintenance, and \$17.45 for transportation. This did not include MRC expenditures for treatment personnel and other associated costs. (See "Project Expenditures" pp. 12-13.)

Three outcome indexes were used in the evaluative research to test the effectiveness of treatment. The first of these is the Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Outcome Index which was constructed along the lines of Mandel's recidivism rating method when other indexes for measuring the repetition of criminal offenses proved inapplicable or impossible to apply. The Index is based upon official disposition of the person and produces a

score on an eleven-point scale from 0 for reimprisonment because of a legal conviction for a new felony to 10 for no illegal activities whatsoever during the time period covered, with intermediate scores representing various degrees of serious to minor dispositions for convictions and alleged offenses. The results are amenable either to statistical manipulation or to categorizing the subjects into such classes of parole outcome as complete failure, marginal failure, marginal success, qualified success, and complete success. The first two categories (scale scores 0-7) constitute recidivism or "failure", and the latter three (scores 8-10 representing at worst conviction to minor sentences in jails or workhouses or fines of \$100 or less for misdemeanors) constitute non-recidivism or "success" in this discussion. The subjects were classified on the basis of their most serious offense (as indicated by administrative and legal disposition of the case) during the period of investigation. Comparative analysis of selected offenders by use of a modified California Index of Severity of Offenses and the Sellin-Wolfgang Index of Delinquency helped validate the Ericson-Moberg Index.

During the twelve months immediately following release, 54.9% of the 82 control subjects and 63.4% of the 82 experimentals were successes on the Recidivism Outcome Index. Among the 82 experimentals were 18 subjects who received little project treatment because they had been excused to accept jobs awaiting them upon release from the Reformatory or were involved in other extenuating circumstances; only 55.6% of these were successful, compared to 65.6% of the 64 experimentals with moderate to intensive treatment.

Official data on recidivism also were collected for all but one subject, whose criminal record had been expunged, as of the end of July 1967. At that time the earliest releasees had completed 31 months of parole and the latest about 13. Using the most serious offense - disposition for the entire period to calculate the Ericson-Moberg Recidivism Outcome Index made it impossible for any person's subsequent score to be higher than the twelve-month rating, but it could not be reduced; that is, he could move toward but not away from the more serious categories of the Index. Only 6 of the 45 controls who were non-recidivists during the first twelve months shifted into the recidivist category for the longer period, but 14 of the 52 experimentals did. This removed the superior performance of the experimentals and suggests the possibility that discontinuing treatment at the end of a year had a detrimental effect upon many parolees who might have continued to succeed had project services been extended to them longer.

The second basic indicator of outcome used dealt with employment. Direct measures of employment success were not obtained from employers because of a promise not to do so which had been made to the subjects early in the data collection process, because of a desire to protect them from the risk of possible reprisals which could result from being singled out, and because of economic costs involved in subtle means of collecting such information. The basic data used for the evaluation of employment success therefore came from the terminal interview schedule administered at or after completion of the first year of parole. Such data were available for 137 of the 164 subjects (75 experimentals and 62 controls).

Job titles, duties, wages, hours worked per week, how jobs were obtained, why they were lost or changed, and other information were collected. Questions about what was liked and disliked, job-seeking methods, and other details also were asked about the first and current job. These data were summarized on a worksheet for each subject together with another sheet on prior work experience, occupational training, labor union status, education, intelligence and achievement test scores, and similar data. Each man's achievement during the year in relationship to his personal potentialities was rated by each of three expert judges on an eleven-point Employment Outcome Index that ranged from 0 for complete failure to 10 for complete success.

The Employment Outcome Index scores were summarized into three categories: failure (0-3), marginal adjustment (4-6), and success (7-10). Experimental subjects had only slightly better outcomes than controls, and the differences were not statistically significant, although those experimentals who had moderate or intensive treatment had the best success record. Incarceration experiences of recidivists were not included in the worksheet data used by the judges, but they undoubtedly had an indirect impact upon the ratings. Because of the possibility that the academic men who were the judges might have an "idealistic" orientation toward employees handicapped by social stigma and other limitations, five vocational counselors were asked to rate employment outcomes by the same procedure. Their ratings averaged about one point higher, but differences in employment outcomes between experimentals and controls remained insignificant.

Another measure of employment outcome was pay rates. The experimentals generally began at lower wage levels than the controls, but they tended to catch up and even to excel slightly by the end of the first year following release. Their lower initial wages were partly due to the fact that one-fourth of them entered educational or training programs and began working on only a part-time basis.

The third basic outcome measure was personality and social adjustment as indicated by psychological tests. From entry to the project to the terminal research after twelve months of release, no significant changes were observed on the Porteus Maze, a test to measure brain damage, nor on before-after results on twenty Semantic Differential concepts, each of which had ten scales.

One of the most thoroughly studied topics in the entire project was personality adjustment in relationship to treatment and outcomes as indicated by the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). Clinically significant elevations were interpreted by an analysis of variance design. Findings supported the null hypothesis that there was no difference in personality change subsequent to treatment between experimental and control parolees in the project. (Personality change was measured by the difference between pre- and post-treatment MMPI scales and between overall MMPI change scores.) The only significant difference was an increased elevation among experimentals on the Masculinity-Femininity Scale, a pattern common among males who are college graduates.

Clinical ratings of MMPI profiles before and after the year of parole were also used. Judges rated each subject's progress during the year by

indicating whether the most recent profile represented much better, slightly better, the same, slightly worse, or much worse adjustment than the pre-parole profile; their ratings were translated into a combined personality adjustment score. No significant differences were found between the experimentals and controls, perhaps because of limited applicability of the MMPI for such before-after use or because of problems in the rating procedure. For example, a person who is severely maladjusted can be "much better" and still remain maladjusted, or one who is "the same" at the end of a year may be either mentally ill or mentally healthy.

Several attitudinal questions were included in the terminal interview. Greater differences were observed between recidivists and non-recidivists from both the control and experimental groups than between the two groups of parolees, but most of the differences were not statistically significant.

Married men were much more likely to succeed on parole, from the perspective of non-recidivism, than those who were single, but the differences were less pronounced among experimentals than among the controls. Having the same "best friend" during parole as one had before imprisonment was related to recidivism, especially among the controls. The project evidently helped many experimentals overcome the detrimental influence of being unmarried and of retaining old friends and enabled many of them to make new friends.

Certain pre-release characteristics and experiences were related to outcome on parole. Higher rates of success were found among those who had held full-time jobs before incarceration, and especially so if the job had been held a year or more. The worse the disciplinary record in the Reformatory, the more likely was failure on parole.

Religious background data made available by the Reformatory chaplains for 132 subjects revealed that Catholics who claimed to attend church frequently were more likely to succeed on their subsequent parole than those who said they attended less than monthly, but Protestants who professed to attend frequently were more likely to recidivate. Those who claimed church membership had higher recidivism rates than non-church members. Other puzzling findings may be a result of complex dynamics of interrelated experiences or of socio-psychological reactions and self-interpretations related to inconsistencies between behavior and idealized understandings of how church participants ought to act.

One of the greatest single achievements of the project was its success in helping experimentals enter and sustain programs of education and vocational training. Only two controls entered such programs. Both of them dropped out after only a month of study, and both became recidivists. In contrast, 22 experimentals (27% of the 82) began such programs. By the time of the follow-up research, 14 had completed their courses or were still enrolled. Six of them were enrolled in colleges or universities. The eight who dropped out had completed an average of one and one-half months of training. Those who entered training had been imprisoned for somewhat more serious offenses and incarcerated longer than the average of all 164 subjects of the study.

Project parolees compared with other parolees from the same institution possess more characteristics normally associated with high recidivism rates. They are not a random cross-section of all offenders, mainly because of their urban destination, lengthier time remaining on parole, and larger proportion of non-whites.

The high employment rate in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area during the course of the project militated against the most effective testing of comprehensive vocationally-related services for parolees. It was easy for almost anyone to get work. During periods of high unemployment, parolees might be more inclined to take advantage of such services and to reap their special benefits.

A questionnaire evaluating the project was returned by 33 Parole Agents who had supervised one or more experimental or control subjects and by 32 other professional and administrative persons who were believed to have significant knowledge pertinent to the project. Reactions to the project were generally favorable, and many suggestions were given for the extension, continuation, and modification of its services.

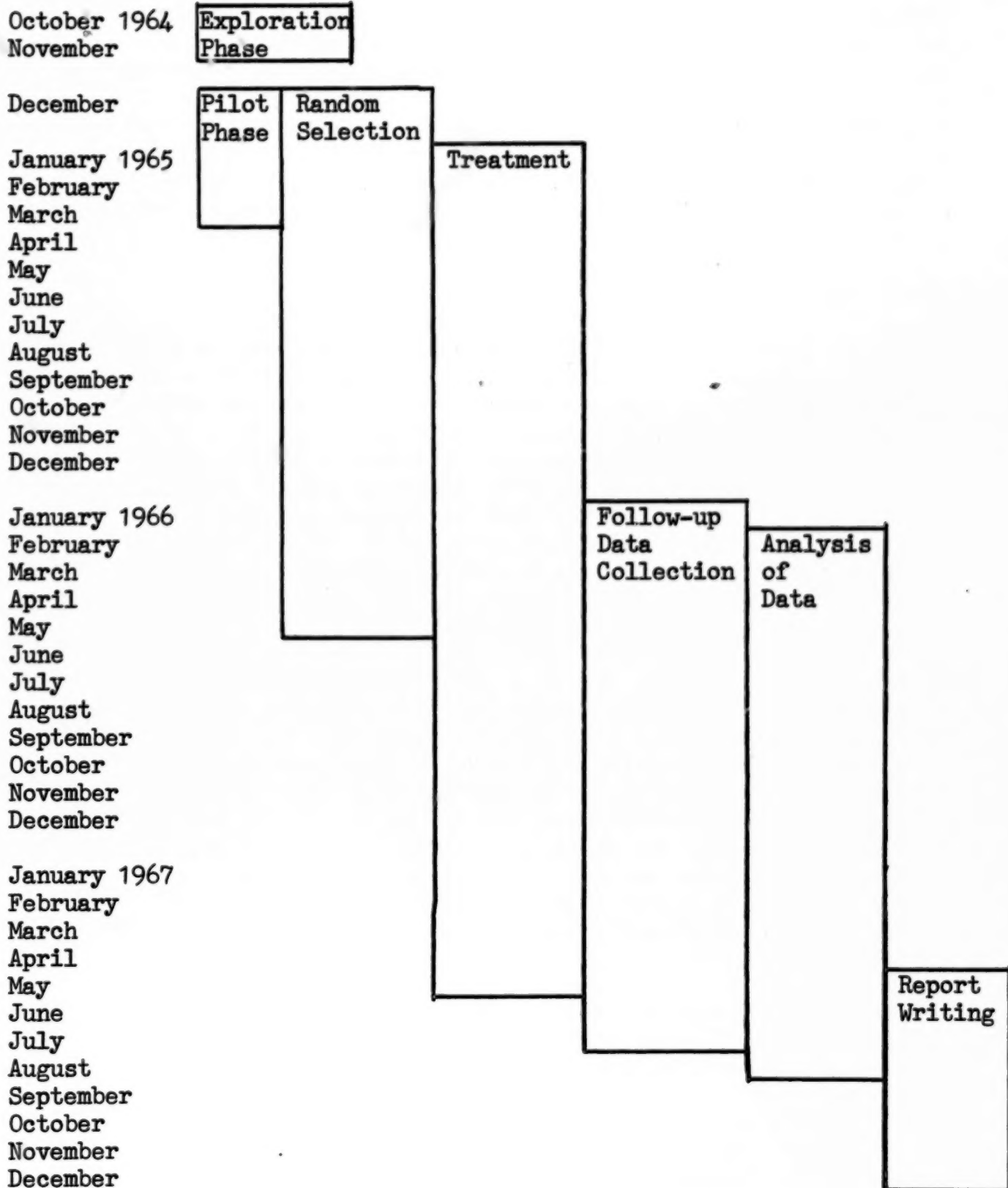
The project already has stimulated inter-agency cooperation by the state agencies involved in it. It has helped to draw attention to the needs of parolees for multi-disciplinary vocational rehabilitation services. It has indicated the need for long-term sustained services to parolees on more than an eight hour day and forty hour week basis. It has demonstrated that many felons have the capacity to engage successfully in college study and vocational training if they are given financial support and social services to sustain them in moments of weakness. The necessary services, when offered on a regular basis may cost far less to society than the expenses of criminal recidivism and institutional incarceration. All project staff members therefore hope that the suggestions and recommendations emerging from this study will result in wide-scale application in correctional and rehabilitation programs in Minnesota and elsewhere.

Conclusion

In terms of the very crucial measure of recidivism at the one year anniversary, the experimentals in this project had a better record than controls, both in terms of recidivism per se (63.4% success for experimentals vs 54.9% for controls), and in terms of the seriousness of offenses when they did occur. Although this difference of 8.5 percentage points has a significance probability of .26, as indicated by a test of proportion difference, it is noteworthy when one realizes that controlled experiments with offenders rarely, if ever, reveal any success at all. The experiences and results of this research therefore provide the basis for a great deal of hope. With appropriate modifications along the lines suggested in this report, comprehensive psycho-social-vocational rehabilitation services both within and outside of correctional institutions should result in improved adjustment for their recipients.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GENERAL PROJECT TIMETABLEMonths

APPENDIX B

GENERAL WORKING AGREEMENT BETWEEN SPONSORING AGENCIES

I. General Responsibilities

Commissioner Ray Lappegaard*, Mr. August Gehrke and Mr. Robert W. Will, as the sponsoring agencies executives, are ultimately responsible for the project. They have delegated agency representatives - Dr. Nathan Mandel from the Department of Corrections, Mr. Edwin Opheim from DVR, Mr. Robert Walker and Mr. Ben Reuben from MRC who have been delegated the authority to set broad policy guidelines under which the Project Coordinator will function. The Project Coordinator's activities will be subject to the review of the agency representatives.

II. Staff Responsibilities

- A. The Project Coordinator, Dick Ericson, will clear with the above mentioned agency representatives on all matters which may result in changes in the modus operandi of the sponsoring agencies. In other words, in those instances where a change in a current policy of an agency is likely, the Coordinator will clear with the agency representatives prior to implementation. Day to day operational aspects of program will be handled by individuals involved at the appropriate program level. It is expected that these individuals, not the Project Coordinator, will clear matters where they feel their authority is not sufficient to make a given decision.
- B. Project Team members are to work directly with their counterparts in the sponsoring agencies. For example, the Treatment Team Caseworker will work directly with the Parole Agent on a given case; the Vocational Counselor will work directly with the designated counselor at DVR; MRC Clinical Psychologist will work directly with the psychologists at the St. Cloud Reformatory; and each will follow the usual procedures of staff relationships at the MRC. The Project Coordinator will be responsible to review Project Team contacts; team members will clear with the Coordinator in those instances when they do not have discretionary authority.
- C. The Project Coordinator will be responsible for the following communications in order that the agencies involved are apprised of the variety of decisions which will be made in the progress of the program.

*Subsequently, Mr. Lappegaard was succeeded by James Alexander and on February 1, 1967, Mr. Paul Keve assumed the responsibilities of Commissioner of Corrections.

1. Monthly progress reports to agency representatives indicating in summary fashion the decisions which have been made during the previous month.
2. Quarterly reports to the Advisory Committee.
3. Progress reports to the VRA as per the conditions governing the grant.

WORKING AGREEMENT WITH DIVISION OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

I. DVR Case Records

- A. DVR desires to maintain a case record on each parolee involved in the experimental group. The Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center will duplicate the following materials from the institutional files of each parolee involved in the experimental group and forward same to DVR:
 1. ACC Cases: The Classification Summary which contains a breakdown of social history, education, work history, previous record, family background, financial resources, contacts with other social agencies and recommendations.
 2. YCC Cases: The Reception Center Evaluation which contains general identifying information, information concerning the offense, prior delinquency, family background, school history, test results, employment and medical and psychological information.
- B. MRC will provide DVR with a recent medical examination on each parolee. This examination must be performed no more than six (6) months prior to the parolee's entrance into the MRC program.

II. Initial Contact by DVR Representative

- A. Since the starting dates for parolees will vary during each week, it will be impractical for the DVR representative to meet each new parolee on his first day in the program. It was agreed that DVR will send a representative to MRC each Friday at 9:00 a.m. to:
 1. Interview the new parolees and conduct an orientation to DVR.
 2. Have each new parolee prepare an application for DVR services.
- B. If there should be no new clients in any given week, MRC will notify DVR.

III. Reporting and Information Exchange

- A. DVR will be notified of tentative dates for all Diagnostic and Planning Conferences of parolees. When it appears that the MRC plan might involve expenditure of DVR funds beyond the normal job placement expenses (formal training, school, etc.), the MRC Vocational Counselor will notify DVR by phone and/or mail to confirm a definite Planning Conference date.
- B. MRC agrees to send a copy of the following reports to DVR:
 - 1. Diagnostic Conference Report
 - 2. Planning Conference Report with following DVR forms as enclosures:
 - a. Vocational Diagnosis
 - b. Rehabilitation Plan
 - c. Statement of Financial Resources (If DVR expenditures are requested)
 - 3. Pre-placement Phase Report - a complete report presenting observations of each MRC team member concerning the client.
 - 4. Follow-up and progress notes - periodic narrative and informal reports regarding the status of clients in the actualization of their rehabilitation plan.
 - 5. Termination Report at end of one-year program.

IV. Transportation and maintenance funds for clients involved in job placement will be provided by DVR on the basis of need.

- A. DVR agrees to provide job placement transportation funds in the amount of five dollars (\$5.00) per week for four (4) weeks.
 - B. DVR agrees to provide subsistence funds, an amount not to exceed twenty-seven dollars and fifty cents (\$27.50) per week for four weeks.
 - C. DVR will provide this transportation and maintenance on a funds available basis.
- V. Eligibility determinations will be made by DVR.

WORKING AGREEMENT WITH PAROLE AGENTS

- I. Initial contact with the Parole Agent is made by the Project Social Worker. Object of this contact is to inform the agent that one or more of his clients have been selected as members of the

project experimental group. The contact will be by phone and will ordinarily be seven (7) days after the decision to parole is made and several days prior to the Project Social Worker's interview with the client in the institution. The Project Social Worker and the Parole Agent will discuss:

- A. Whether the Parole Agent has sent the release authorization to the institution.
 - B. Possible need for housing and/or maintenance.
 - C. Exchange of information about the client.
- II. The agent will receive official notification by letter indicating that a client is a member of the experimental group.
 - III. Following contact with the client in the institution, the Project Social Worker will again telephone the Parole Agent to discuss impressions of the client as well as to further discuss housing, finances and other needs.
 - IV. The Parole Agent and the parolee will meet at the MRC on the day following release. The meeting place and time will be scheduled by the Project Social Worker.
 - V. On the fifth day of a parolee's involvement in the agency program, a diagnostic conference will be held to discuss the client's progress and to initiate a treatment plan. MRC will notify the Parole Agent by letter and a summary of this meeting will be sent to the agent for his records.
 - VI. Additional contacts between the MRC treatment staff and the Parole Agent are made on a need basis.
 - VII. At the close of the in-agency program (usually at the end of the 4th week) a pre-placement conference is held to report progress and to initiate vocational placement plans. The Parole Agent will receive a call from the Project Social Worker informing him of the meeting.
 - VIII. A copy of the Pre-Placement Conference Report will be sent to the agent for his record. Several weeks later the agent will receive a complete report from the Project Treatment Team.
 - IX. During the in-agency program, the Treatment Team Work Evaluator will send a weekly report to the agent on the client's attendance.
 - X. The agent will be asked to fill out and return to the Center an "Illegal Activity" form on a quarterly basis for both experimental and control groups. MRC will send the form to each agent at the appropriate time.

- XI. The agent will be asked to fill out and return to the Center the "Employment and Training Record Follow-up" on a quarterly basis for any control group men under his supervision. MRC will send the form to each agent at the appropriate time.
- XII. At the end of the one year program, a Termination Report summarizing services and client response will be sent to the Parole Agent.

APPENDIX C

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED TO
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS BY
DATE OF RELEASE
(E = 82, C = 82)

OCT.'64	NOV.'64	DEC.'64	JAN.'65	FEB.'65	MAR.'65
			E = 4 C = 2	E = 3 C = 1	E = 8 C = 6
APRIL'65	MAY'65	JUNE'65	JULY'65	AUG.'65	SEPT.'65
E = 3 C = 2	E = 4 C = 5	E = 9 C = 9	E = 4 C = 5	E = 9 C = 5	E = 2 C = 4
OCT.'65	NOV.'65	DEC.'65	JAN.'66	FEB.'66	MAR.'66
E = 7 C = 5	E = 5 C = 6	E = 2 C = 4	E = 6 C = 7	E = 1 C = 4	E = 4 C = 4
APRIL'66	MAY'66	JUNE'66	JULY'66	AUG.'66	SEPT.'66
E = 6 C = 4	E = 5 C = 6	E = 0 C = 2	E = 0 C = 1		
OCT.'66	NOV.'66	DEC.'66	JAN.'67	FEB.'67	MAR.'67
APRIL'67	MAY'67	JUNE'67	JULY'67	AUG.'67	SEPT.'67

APPENDIX D

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS IN RELEASE PROCESS

Day	Scheduled Activity
Commission	
Hearing	The decision to grant parole is made.
2	Clerical selection of subject group at MSRM. (Those going to Twin Cities and having at least eighteen months on parole.)
3	A. Subject list to MSRM staff and mailed to MRC. B. Institution data clerk begins data collection. C. Institution psychologists begin testing.
4	
5	
6	
7	A. All testing is completed.
8	B. MRC makes selection and calls Mr. Lawson at MSRM with a list of experimental subjects.
9	
10	
11	C. Mr. Lawson issues letter from MRC to experi- mental subjects.
12	
13	D. MRC sends letter to appropriate Parole Agent informing him of selection. E. MRC Social Worker makes arrangement to visit with experimental subject in institution.
14	Institution data clerk mails Data Packet to MRC on this date or before.
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	A. Mr. Lawson issues "Special Condition" and "Rules and Regulations" at Reformatory. B. Release from Reformatory for both experimental YCC and ACC men, <u>with or without jobs</u> . (ACC men without jobs in control group remain in institution as per usual procedure.)
22	A. Referrals appear at MRC in Minneapolis. B. Parole Agent meets with referral.
23	
24	
25	
26	
27	Diagnostic Conference at MRC involving MRC Treatment Team, DVR, and Parole Agent.

APPENDIX E

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TERMINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWER: This schedule refers primarily to experiences since the respondent was released on parole from Minnesota State Reformatory just over twelve months ago. If he has been returned to the Reformatory during the year and released again, keep in mind the experiences of the entire year, not merely the period since his latest release.

Remember that all this information about the respondent is confidential. It must not be shared with anyone except the staff of this research-demonstration project.

Most items can be answered by a check mark (X) or a double check (XX). Use the space between questions and in the margins for qualifying, supplementary, and clarifying comments. Backs of pages and supplementary sheets of paper may also be used, but be sure to identify each properly with the respondent's number (Ss. No.) and the question number. We would rather have too many comments than too few!

When probing or clarifying questions, refrain from distortion and from suggesting answers. For certain items probe questions are suggested. You may also echo back the respondent's own words or repeat the question, if necessary using a different word order. General probe questions include:

Is there anything else?

Tell me more about it.

Have you had any other _____?

What else?

What do you mean?

Anything more?

For items with cards it is advisable to read the responses aloud even though the respondent holds the card. Be sure all cards are returned immediately after use. Do not skip any items; make sure that all questions which apply are answered. Special instructions are boxed in. Notice that the last page asks for your evaluation of the interview and the respondent.

Questions and problems may be referred to either Mrs. Marilyn Jacobs or Mrs. Charlotte Kauppi at the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center.

(READ THIS STATEMENT TO INTERVIEWEE:)

Now that a year has passed since your release from Minnesota State Reformatory, we wish to have some information about what has happened to you during this past year.

ALL OF THE INFORMATION YOU PROVIDE WILL BE HELD STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. To protect your identity, you have been assigned a number. This number is not known to others in our agency nor by anybody in the Department of Corrections. It serves only to keep your form separate from the forms filled out by other parolees. The top sheet with your name, address, and phone number will be detached from your completed form, so your name will not be linked with any of the information you give.

First of all, I will ask some questions about your living situation.

1. What was your address immediately after your release from the Reformatory about a year ago? (House number, street, city)
- 
- 

23. Now I would like to have a summary of your work experience since your release from the (Minnesota State) Reformatory about a year ago. Please tell me about every job you have had, beginning with the first one after your release.

INTERVIEWER: Complete the information for number 23 on the next pages by asking appropriate questions to elicit the information. Use as many additional pages as necessary. If there have been a large number of similar jobs of only one or a few days' duration each, you may report on several together in one column.

Notice that the pay may need to be converted to a time period basis for purposes of comparability. This applies to sales commissions as well as piecework. Our concern is with what the man actually earned in a typical week, not with the percentage rate of his commission, pay per car washed, or similar pay scale.

APPENDIX F

TERMINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE QUESTION

NUMBER 23: JOB HISTORY

(Use one column for each job. Use additional sheets for more jobs.)

Job Characteristics	Job No. 1	Job No. 2	Job No. 3
Employer			
Address			
How obtained the job:			
Date Began			
Date Ended			
Why Job Ended (Reason for Termination)			
Job Title			
Job Duties (list all)			
Machines or Special Equipment Operated			
Average Hours Worked Per Week			
Pay at Beginning (Convert piecework to weekly average)	\$ ____ per ____	\$ ____ per ____	\$ ____ per ____
Pay Now or at End	\$ ____ per ____	\$ ____ per ____	\$ ____ per ____
CHECK BEST ANSWERS:			
Was) Permanent . . .			
This) Temporary . . .			
Job) Seasonal . . .			
Told Em-) Yes, Before			
Ployer) Beginning .			
About) Yes, Later			
Parole) No			
Liked that) YES			
Kind of Work) NO			

APPENDIX G

TERMINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE QUESTIONS ON UNREPORTED ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES*

Many people say that it is impossible for parolees to follow all the rules for their parole. We would like to know if you have been involved in any illegal activities since your release from the Reformatory about a year ago which were unreported, undetected, or for which no revocation report was made. No report of your individual responses will be made to any official of the Department of Corrections or any other agency. I will not ask for any details or facts that could connect you with the activities under question. I'm going to ask you how many times you committed some specific types of illegal activities since your release about a year ago. Do not count any offenses already reported to me for which your parole was revoked or you have been incarcerated.

NOTICE: If the same offense is reported in two or more categories, connect them by comments or a pencil line. For each type of offense committed ask: DID YOUR PAROLE AGENT FIND OUT ABOUT IT?

PROBES: How many times was that all year?
Did you do that more than once?

OTHER ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES	Says Has No Rules	No. of Times in Yr.	Did Parole Agent Know			
			Yes	Some- times	No	Doesn't Know
32a. How Many Times Have You Violated Curfew Rules?						
32b. How Many Times Have You Violated Drinking Rules?						
32c. How Many Times Have You <u>Left</u> the State Without Permission?						
32d. How Many Times Have You <u>Kept</u> Company With Other Parolees? (Fraternalized, Buddied With, etc.)						
32e. How Many Times Have You Violated any <u>Special Conditions</u> of Your Parole?						
32f. How Many Times Have You Violated Other <u>Technical Parole Rules</u> , Like Failing to Report To Your Parole Agent, Refusing To Cooperate With His Rules, etc.?						
32g. How Many Times Have You <u>Bought or Sold Goods</u> Which You Knew or Thought Were Stolen?						
32h. How Many Times Have You Been Involved in What Would Likely Be a <u>Misdemeanor</u> ?						
32i. How Many Times Have You Been Involved In What Would Likely Be a <u>Felony</u> ?						

Explanations and Comments:

*Question 32, pages 20-21, of Terminal Interview Schedule

APPENDIX H

DESCRIPTION OF MRC SERVICES WHICH APPEARED IN THE
ORIGINAL PROJECT PROPOSAL (pp. 7-9)

The project team will be specially organized to treat these clients but will be drawn from experienced agency staff to as great an extent as possible. A Social Caseworker, Group Worker, Vocational Counselor, Work Evaluator, and Clinical Psychologist comprise the usual Rehabilitation Team, but their number will be augmented by a Project Director and Project Coordinator whose duties are described in a later section of this proposal. The medical and psychiatric consultants presently associated with the Center will be used as needed.

The concept of vocational rehabilitation at MRC is embodied in the practice of developing through team efforts for each client, in consideration of his assets and liabilities, a unique pattern of services; and therefore, in order not to be misleading, it should be pointed out that the "typical" program offered at this agency is a statistical abstraction. However, in the "typical" program, a client ordinarily receives a week of diagnostic services followed by approximately 3 to 6 weeks of therapeutic counseling, personal adjustment training, skill evaluation, and short term skill training in the shop. Upon completing this core program, a client moves into placement, during which time he has periodic interviews, and, if it is felt appropriate, he may participate in a group program with other clients in placement. During and after placement, follow-up contacts of whatever frequency are deemed necessary are provided until case closure, which, for the usual client occurs 12 to 18 months after starting the program.

The various units at MRC out of which a client's program is compounded are as follows:

Medical: Medical services are provided by a part time physician. Physical restoration services such as physical therapy or occupational therapy are not provided by the Center; however, through the medical consultant and arrangements with nearby hospitals, services are made available to clients when needed. The functions of the Center's medical services are best described as screening, evaluation and referral. The physician identifies capacities and assesses the client's physical condition, and is available as a consultant to other team members.

Psychiatric: The MRC has a part time psychiatrist who provides several services to team members and selected clients. First, he reviews all referrals of clients who have defined personality problems and makes suggestions concerning the need for additional information, treatment and general management of the client in the program. Secondly, he is able to see individual clients who can profit from a personality assessment by a person who does not function as a continuing member of the team but who has an understanding of the program. Lastly, the psychiatrist consults with staff members on selected clients who pose particularly unique and difficult treatment problems.

Social Services: The Social Services Department presently consists of 5 Social Workers and a department head, all trained at the master's level and members of the Academy of Certified Social Workers.

The Social Service staff are responsible for intake and orientation of the client for the program. At the time of intake the Social Worker is responsible for developing a social history, a preliminary social diagnosis, and for helping some clients to find living quarters while at the Center. Immediate family, relatives, and/or referring workers are all seen at this time. After the client becomes active at the Center, the Social Worker provides diagnostic information and assists in structuring a treatment program for the client. Depending upon the problems, the Social Worker may provide services ranging from minimal surveillance, to an intensive modifying effort, to long range coordination and social planning. Both clients and their families are seen during this phase of treatment, and individual and group methods are used extensively in carrying out plans.

Follow-up services are aimed at solidifying gains and helping the client to make the transition from agency to work. During this period preventive referrals, such as to recreational or treatment groups and to other social agencies, are initiated.

Psychological Services: The psychological services at the MRC are provided by one full time person with a master's degree in clinical psychology and a part time Psychometrist who administers a selected battery of individual intelligence and personality tests. The WAIS and MMPI are routinely administered by this department unless the tests were recently given elsewhere.

Apart from the use of psychometric devices the Psychologist interviews each client to assess their present level of functioning and assist other staff members in understanding the client's psychological status. The Psychologist also makes suggestions for management of the client in the program and, when feasible, gives psychological treatment to selected individuals.

Vocational Services: The department has two divisions: Counseling and Work Evaluation. Counseling services are provided at present by 6 Counseling Psychologists including the department head, trained at the master's level. The Counselor is responsible for developing with clients an appropriate vocational objective and for providing a variety of services (counseling, evaluation, training, job placement) to enable the client to find and hold a job.

The work evaluation area consists of a large space (9,000 square feet) providing 200 work samples which can be used in a variety of ways to facilitate vocational planning and personal adjustment. The staff consists of 5 Work Evaluators trained in industrial education. Through the use of simulated work the unit first provides diagnostic information to other team members on such variables as work habits, skills, physical capacities, etc. Secondly, through direct contact with the client they assist other Treatment Staff in the reduction

of undesirable personality traits. Lastly, they are able to provide short term intensive training in entry level occupations.

Job placement services are provided by the Vocational Counselor. A variety of special placement techniques have been developed which secure job orders for Center clients as well as create an attitude of acceptance for Center clients on the part of employers.

Normal follow-up procedures continue until the client is on the job for a minimum of 3 months. Many clients are seen for longer periods of time depending upon the requirements of their situation.

Since in fact each subject will be an eligible Division of Vocational Rehabilitation client, a representative of the State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation will coordinate closely with the Project Rehabilitation Team through all phases of the program. The Division of Vocational Rehabilitation counselor will supply direct services of whatever nature are felt necessary to facilitate a client's rehabilitation after the in-agency phase of the client's program. For example, specific skill training of a relatively long term nature, where it is considered to be a feasible part of the rehabilitation plan, will be arranged for by the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation liaison counselor.

While it is expected that many experimental subjects will not require financial support while in the program and before becoming employed in that they will be living in their family homes or will have other resources, some proportion will likely be without a source of support to provide for living essentials until they are placed in a job. Commitments have been obtained from the Departments of Public Welfare and from the Minneapolis Relief Department to furnish maintenance support to eligible parolees who require such help while unemployed and who have legal residence in Hennepin (Minneapolis) or Ramsey (St. Paul) counties. Financial support for parolees locating in the Twin Cities whose legal residence is elsewhere is to be provided from project funds.

APPENDIX I

ERICSON-MOBERG RECIDIVISM INDEX

Source of data: Official reports from Minnesota State Department of Corrections.

Basis: Disposition. (Presumably penalties imposed reflect the seriousness of an offense to some degree, but this is not an index of the severity of offenses as such. It is based upon the most serious breach of rules or of the law during the period covered, the basic criterion for seriousness being disposition.)

Period of coverage: The first twelve months following release from MSRM; disposition is therefore based upon the status of the subject at the end of his first year. If he committed an offense (later apprehended) within the twelve months but was not apprehended for such an act, he was in fact still free in society at the end of twelve months; upon arrest, charges might be dropped; he might be acquitted if tried; charges might be dropped to a lesser plea with different disposition; etc.)

Code

- 0 Reimprisoned: Convicted of felony.
- 1 Reimprisoned: Felony admitted, confessed, or agent-alleged, but no prosecution or no conviction for the offense. (This includes parolees reimprisoned for other reasons who have felonies on the record other than the one leading to Commission action and "killed while attempting armed robbery.")
- 2 Reimprisoned: Convicted of misdemeanor.
- 3 Reimprisoned: 1) Misdemeanor admitted, confessed, or agent-alleged, but no prosecution or no conviction for the offense; 2) Technical violation with evidence or suspicion of misdemeanor or felony but no confession or admission to having committed it; 3) Technical violation with prior and separate misdemeanor for which sentence has already been imposed and/or served on an earlier occasion during current parole; 4) Technical violation with absconding on the record, whether part of the current charge or not.
- 4 Reimprisoned: Technical violation without any evidence, allegation, or suspicion of other offenses.
- 5 Absconder: Also wanted for or charged with an alleged felony, or has been convicted of or confessed to a felony on the same or a separate charge; or arrested and arraigned for an alleged felony and awaiting disposition.

- 6 Absconder: Also wanted for or charged with an alleged misdemeanor or has been convicted of or confessed to a misdemeanor on the same or a separate charge; or arrested and arraigned for an alleged misdemeanor and awaiting disposition.
- 7 Absconder: Has no record of any other convictions nor of any alleged offenses during current parole; or offenders convicted of one or more offenses for which a sentence of more than 90 days in a jail or workhouse or a fine of over \$100 has been imposed.
- 8 Offenders convicted of a law violation for which a jail or workhouse sentence of 90 days or less or a fine over \$25 and up to \$100 has been imposed; or technical violators of parole rules whose violations have been officially reported to the paroling authorities but have not had their parole revoked as a result.
- 9 Offenders arrested and temporarily jailed without charges supported by arraignment or other substantial evidence; or offenders convicted of one or more law violations for which there has been no jail sentence and no fine of more than \$25; or technical violators of parole rules, including any illegal activities reported in Quarterly Illegal Activities Reports, Progress Reports, or Chronological Case Records of the parole officers but for which no revocation of parole was recommended to the paroling authorities.
- 10 No illegal activities on any available official records; or parolees returned to a correctional institution for placement only without any other offense record; or parolees reimprisoned or otherwise prosecuted for offenses that occurred prior to the current parole period who have not committed any other technical violations or illegal activities of any kind recorded in official records.

Multiple offenses are classified according to the most serious (lowest score) disposition category.

In cases of doubtful classification which would involve significant movement, including 8 to 9 or 4 to 5 and vice versa, additional evidence has been secured from the parole officer or other official sources.

These were grouped into broader categories as follows:

0-4	Failure	}	"Recidivism"
5-7	Marginal failure		
8	Marginal success	}	"Non-recidivism"
9	Qualified success		
10	Success		

APPENDIX J

SUBJECT'S BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND
VOCATIONAL PREPARATION

Subject No. _____

Age _____ At Terminal Interview Date _____

Intelligence Measures (During Incarceration):

AGCT Score:

WAIS Score:

Other Scores:

Achievement Measures (During Incarceration):

SAT Grade Level:

Years of Elementary and High School Completed:

Vocational Training Prior to Incarceration:

Education and Training Since Release from St. Cloud Reformatory: (See attached "Vocational and Training History" form)

Occupational Experience:

Prior to Most Recent Incarceration:

During Most Recent Incarceration: (See attached photocopies of Reformatory work record)

Since Release from Most Recent Incarceration: (See attached "Vocational and Training History" form)

Past and/or Present Labor Union Status:

Past:

Present:

MINNEAPOLIS REHABILITATION CENTER

VRA RD-1551

VOCATIONAL AND TRAINING HISTORY FOR FIRST TWELVE MONTHS FOLLOWING RELEASE

Date of Release _____ Subject No. _____

Job Title (or Training Status)	Duties (or Course of Study)	Employer or Training Facility	Dates		Hours or Credits Per Week	Wages		Why Ter- minated
			From	To		Per Hour	First Last	

Red brackets indicate concurrent activity in work and/or training.

APPENDIX L

MINNEAPOLIS REHABILITATION CENTER

VRA RD=1551

RATING OF VOCATIONAL SUCCESS DURING FIRST YEAR
FOLLOWING RELEASE FROM
MINNESOTA STATE REFORMATORY

Rater _____

Date _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Each subject is to be rated on his vocational success during the one-year study period. Judge on the basis of whether his employment experience and training during the year in relationship to his personal background and capacities represent relative success or failure. Rate his success by circling the appropriate number in the Vocational Success Scale. Indicate your degree of confidence in your rating by circling the appropriate letter in the Degree of Confidence Scale.

VOCATIONAL SUCCESS SCALEDEGREE OF CONFIDENCE

Failure

Success

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

- A. Very Unconfident
B. Not very Confident
C. Somewhat Confident
D. Quite Confident
E. Highly Confident

Subject Number	Vocational Success Scale											Degree of Confidence				
001	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	A	B	C	D	E
002	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	A	B	C	D	E
004	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	A	B	C	D	E
006	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	A	B	C	D	E
007	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	A	B	C	D	E
010	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	A	B	C	D	E
011	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	A	B	C	D	E

APPENDIX M

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

INSTRUCTIONS:

This is a test to find out what certain words mean to you. It looks like this:

	<u>football</u>							
kind	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	cruel
dirty	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	clean
false	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	true
smart	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	sucker
soft	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	hard
masculine	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	feminine
heavy	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	light
slow	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	fast
hot	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	cold
active	___	:	___	:	___	:	___	passive

Underneath the word FOOTBALL are "scales". Rate the word FOOTBALL according to where you think it fits on each of the 10 scales. For example, on the first scale, if you think FOOTBALL is very closely related to KIND, put an X like this:

kind X : ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ cruel

If the think FOOTBALL is very closely related to CRUEL, put an X like this:

kind ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: X cruel

If you think FOOTBALL belongs somewhere in between, make an X where you think it fits best. For example,

kind ___: X : ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ cruel

kind ___: ___: ___: ___: X : ___: ___ cruel

If you think FOOTBALL is equally related to KIND and CRUEL, or is neutral, make an X exactly in the middle.

Please place your X's right on the lines, not on the boundaries.

This Not this

kind _____ : X : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : X _____ cruel

Please be sure to make an X on each of the 10 scales; do not omit any.

Please make one X and only one on a single scale.

Work quickly. Don't stop to think much over any one item. It is your first impressions we want. But please do not be careless because we want your true impressions.

On each of the following 10 pages you will find 2 sets of scales with a word at the top of the scales. Rate the word (or words) on each one of the scales according to what it means to you, just as in the above instructions for FOOTBALL.

CONCEPTS:

The subjects were instructed to rate each of the following 20 concepts in all of the 10 scales shown above under "football".

The 20 concepts listed below were rated on all of the 10 scales ("kind cruel," etc.).

sex
boss
cop
my father
army career
my mother
steady job
businessman
my wife
teacher

studying
my brother
social worker
myself as I am
belonging to a gang
high school graduate
in business for myself
reading for enjoyment
moving away from Minnesota
myself as I would like to be

APPENDIX N

CLINICAL RATING OF PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT CHANGE SINCE RELEASE ON PAROLE

Rater _____

Date _____

INSTRUCTIONS: The accompanying MMPI profiles are for men on parole to the Twin City metropolitan area from the Minnesota State Reformatory in St. Cloud. The red (solid-line) profile represents MMPI T-scores approximately two weeks before the subject's release from the Reformatory, and the black (broken-line) profile his T-scores after a period of at least 12 months on parole.

Please rate each man's progress during the year by indicating whether his latest personality adjustment as reflected on the black (broken-line) profile is much better, slightly better, the same, slightly worse, or much worse than his pre-parole (red solid-line) profile. Whenever possible, avoid using the middle category. If there is even only a little improvement, check the "Slightly Better" column, and if adjustment is only a trifle poorer, check the "Slightly Worse" column, instead of using the "Same" category.

NOTE: The red solid-line is the pre-parole profile.
The black broken-line is the follow-up profile.

S	Much	Slightly		Slightly	Much	S	Much	Slightly		Slightly	Much
No.	Better	Better	Same	Worse	Worse	No.	Better	Better	Same	Worse	Worse
401						417					
402						418					
403						419					
404											
						511					
97						512					
498						513					
499						514					

APPENDIX O

WORK EVALUATION RATINGS

A. Intake Work Evaluation Rating

1. Appearance

- a. Client had poor grooming, clothing dirty or unpressed, shoes in bad repair, hands grimy
- b. Slight improvement over a. but not as good as c.
- c. Hair neat, clean shaven, washed up, but clothing unkempt, in need of repair, etc.
- d. Slight improvement over c. but not as good as e.
- e. Hair, clothing, entire personal grooming acceptable, appropriate for clients' vocational aspirations

2. Communication

- a. Indistinct, no speech, very hard to understand, including speech defect
- b. Difficult to understand but with questioning can be better understood
- c. Can understand in most cases, has to be questioned sometimes
- d. No problem understanding
- e. Very good choice of words, concise and to the point

3. Poise

- a. Very nervous, fidgety, anxious
- b. Uncomfortable, ill at ease
- c. Initially anxious but settles down after a few minutes
- d. Quite relaxed, well composed
- e. Entirely at ease, self-confident

4. Responsiveness

- a. Withdrawn, dull, evasive
- b. Responds only to direct questions, doesn't volunteer information
- c. Normal attentiveness
- d. Spontaneous, alert, asks intelligent questions
- e. Unusually keen, perceptive, imaginative

5. Physical Endurance

- a. Very severely limiting
- b. Severely limiting
- c. Moderately limiting
- d. Mildly limiting - needs occasional rest
- e. Non-limiting

6. Temperament with Co-workers
 - a. Very uncontrolled, bad temper
 - b. Somewhat excitable, moody
 - c. Normal variations in mood, tractability
 - d. Well-balanced, even-tempered
 - e. Exceptionally stable
7. Response to Supervision
 - a. Negativistic and resentful toward supervisor
 - b. Easily upset by criticism, becomes anxious and apologetic
 - c. Depends too much on supervisor for guidance
 - d. Normally cooperative toward supervision
 - e. Very cooperative - independent, mature, requires minimal supervision
8. Shop Rules
 - a. Ignores shop rules completely, reminders do not help
 - b. Breaks the rules, frequently has to be reminded
 - c. Breaks many of the rules, must be reminded occasionally
 - d. Breaks a few rules but not considered to be a problem
 - e. Rarely breaks a shop rule
9. Understanding Directions
 - a. Unable to follow written or oral directions, needs to have task demonstrated in detail every time
 - b. Slow to catch on, has difficulty with written and oral directions
 - c. Catches on but has difficulty with written directions
 - d. Catches on to all directions, needs little help
 - e. Catches on quickly to written, oral, or demonstrated directions
10. Motivation
 - a. Fearful, indifferent, refuses to work
 - b. Wants individual concessions
 - c. Accepts any work, little planning, bored
 - d. Interested, anxious for work, plans
 - e. Ambitious, lot of good ideas, has realistic plans to achieve goals

11. Responsibility and Dependability in Shop Setting

- a. Unreliable, cannot be depended upon to complete a task
- b. Often undependable, needs constant prodding
- c. Sometimes undependable, needs only occasional prodding
- d. Usually dependable, performs most tasks without guidance
- e. Is dependable, assumes much responsibility, has leadership potential

12. Work Tolerance

- a. Negative reaction to frustration or failure
- b. Gives up easily, overly dependent when having problems
- c. Less than normally persevering, does not give up easily with difficult tasks
- d. Normally persevering, does not give up easily with difficult tasks
- e. Has excellent tolerance, likes a challenge

13. Industry

- a. Quite erratic, works in fits and starts
- b. Plodding, low level of production
- c. Produces more when prodded
- d. Works to capacity
- e. Produces at high level

14. Interest in Job Samples

- a. Total lack of interest
- b. Shows some interest in job samples
- c. Normal interest
- d. Very interested, likes to try anything new
- e. Extremely interested, looks upon job as a challenge

B. Terminal Work Evaluation Rating

1. Response to Supervision

- a. Normally cooperative
- b. Overly cooperative
- c. Negativistic, resentful
- d. Easily upset by criticism

2. Getting Along with Others

- a. Gets along very well
- b. Overly gregarious
- c. Apparently tries but "doesn't know how"
- d. Ignores others in shop
- e. Is disruptive, hostile

3. Ability to Follow Directions
 - a. Catches on quickly
 - b. Has some difficulty
 - c. Slow to catch on
4. Conscientiousness and Reliability
 - a. Is quite conscientious
 - b. Sometimes unreliable
 - c. Often late or absent
5. Interest in Assigned Work
 - a. Seems quite interested
 - b. Seems uninterested, bored
6. Industriousness
 - a. Generally at high level
 - b. Is quite erratic
 - c. Generally low energy
7. Quality of Client's Work
 - a. Does neat, accurate work
 - b. Uneven as to quality
 - c. Product of efforts messy
8. Perseverance
 - a. Deals realistically with frustration
 - b. Less than normally persevering
 - c. Gives up easily, tires
9. Consistence of Task Preferences with Abilities
 - a. Prefers tasks in which he is or could be competent
 - b. Prefers work which is easy, works below capacity
 - c. Prefers work which is unrealistic for him
10. Dealing with Impairment
 - a. Makes reasonable allowance for his functional limitations, maximal use
 - b. Favors his impairment, works more awkwardly than he needs to, limits self
 - c. Does not make reasonable allowance for his impairment, overworks

APPENDIX P

SPECIAL CONDITION OF PAROLE*

You have been selected to participate in a Vocational Services Project and are asked to report to the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center at 10:00 a.m. on the day following your release. Cooperation in this project is a Special Condition of your parole whether you have a job or not. This program has been developed to help you make a satisfactory parole adjustment. You are to abide by the rules and regulations of the project.

RULES AND REGULATIONS RELATING TO
THE VOCATIONAL SERVICES PROJECT

1. Unless otherwise indicated you are to meet with your Parole Agent at the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center at 10:00 a.m. on the day following your release from the Reformatory.
2. You are expected to participate in the project until you have been officially notified that you are finished with the program.
3. If you have acquired a job prior to your release from the institution you are still asked to report to the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center on the day following your release. At that time your Parole Agent and your Vocational Counselor will discuss with you your employment future. If, as a result of your conference on that day, you and your Parole Agent conclude that it would be helpful to you to have special services while employed, you are expected to cooperate accordingly. This may include such programs as special counseling groups which may meet once per week in the evening hour.
4. You are expected to abide by the specific rules of the Project Staff as follows:
 - A. Regular and on-time attendance and participation in both the day program as well as any other sessions as designated by the Project Staff.
 - B. Adherence to normal and reasonable rules of conduct.
 - C. Proper spending of any monies granted you for maintenance, transportation, or other expenses.
 - D. Other rules and regulations not listed here and which may become a part of the project.

I hereby certify that the SPECIAL CONDITION and RULES AND REGULATIONS RELATING TO THE VOCATIONAL SERVICES PROJECT have been read and explained to the parolee and he has agreed and consented to this CONDITION and to the RULES AND REGULATIONS upon his release, this _____ day of _____ 19 _____.

I hereby certify that I fully understand this Special Condition and the rules and regulations as set forth for me to comply with, and I hereby agree to be bound by all rules, regulations and conditions of this agreement. I certify that I have received a copy of this agreement.

Resident Parole Supervisor

Signature of Parolee

*This Special Condition was typed into the #4 space on the YCC PROBATION/ PAROLE AGREEMENT and attached to the ACC STATEMENT OF RULES, REGULATIONS, AND CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE PAROLE IS GRANTED for all men referred to the Vocational Services Project.

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